

# CRASH LANDING IN CAPE TOWN

TESTING THE PORT-OF-ENTRY CONCEPTUALISATION AND  
EXAMINING CAPE TOWN'S SPATIAL POLICY FOR COGNISANCE OF  
MIGRANT'S DIVERSE SPATIAL AND LIVELIHOOD STRATEGIES

BY  
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**OCTOBER 2013**

**"REFUGEE RIGHTS ARE HUMAN RIGHTS"**

AN URBAN ARTWORK IN WOODSTOCK, CAPE TOWN, SOUTH AFRICA

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## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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For all those fleeing times of war, political oppression, or religious persecution may this be the beginning of a lifetime of service.



*An Urban Artwork in Woodstock, Cape Town, South Africa  
(Photo by the Human Rights Media Centre, Cape Town)*



## ABSTRACT

Since the fall of Apartheid, and the subsequent dawn of democracy, South Africa has increasingly become a destination space for asylum seekers and refugees from throughout Africa. It is apparent that many of these asylum seekers and refugees (collectively defined as migrants within this dissertation) although granted comprehensive rights by the South African Constitution, are unable to access or 'realise' these rights. Migrants throughout the country have been encouraged to integrate into South African society and become active agents of their own integration. This has resulted in the Department of Home Affairs granting all individuals in possession of an asylum seeker permit the right to work, negating the need for work permits within migrant communities. This has resulted in most migrant communities living within the urban fabrics of South Africa's cities. As Cape Town has become a primary destination space for migrants, its spatial policy requires cognisance of their diverse spatial and livelihood strategies in order to augment, rather than undermine, their mechanisms of integration. Port-of-entry neighbourhoods, as documented in cities such as New York and Johannesburg, are neighbourhoods in which such mechanisms manifest, deeming them strategic areas for newcomers to the city.

The aims of this dissertation are firstly to construct a fine-grained case study of migrants' spatial and livelihood patterns within Cape Town, and in so doing test the port-of-entry conceptualisation within the Cape Town context. Increasingly apparent in Cape Town's case study is the emerging spatial pattern of migrant rich neighbourhoods. This pattern is emerging in a bilinear fashion in the old, often degrading, middle class neighbourhoods that straddle the northern and southern rail lines. Secondly, this dissertation aims to test and analyse Cape Town's spatial policy for its cognisance towards these spatial and livelihood strategies. Evident within Cape Town's spatial policy is the pursuit of spatial justice and rectification of the city's spatial marginalisation, yet there is no cognisance of the diverse migrant strategies within the city. Lastly, this paper suggests an alternative planning approach for Cape Town's migrant rich neighbourhoods, particularly Maitland, Parow and Bellville, which strongly exhibit the characteristics normally found in port-of-entry neighbourhoods. A number of non-spatial migrant policy suggestions are also promulgated in order to rectify the on-going marginalisation of migrants within South African society.

## ABBREVIATIONS

AU	-	African Union
CID	-	City Improvement District
CoCT	-	City of Cape Town Municipal Government
DoHA	-	Department of Home Affairs
DoHS	-	Department of Human Settlements (formerly the Department of Housing)
DoH	-	Department of Housing (now the Department of Human Settlements)
DRC	-	Democratic Republic of Congo
GDP	-	Gross Domestic Product
IDP	-	Integrated Development Plan
MSDF	-	Municipal Spatial Development Framework
NGO	-	Nongovernmental Organisation
NPO	-	Nonprofit Organisation
NSDP	-	National Spatial Development Perspective
PGWC	-	Provincial Government of the Western Cape
PSDF	-	Provincial Spatial Development Framework
RSA	-	Republic of South Africa
SADC	-	Southern African Development Community
SARS	-	South African Revenue Service
SCA	-	Supreme Court of Appeal
SDF	-	Spatial Development Framework
UCT	-	University of Cape Town
UDZ	-	Urban Development Zone
UK	-	United Kingdom
UN	-	United Nations
UNHCR	-	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
USA	-	United States of America

## ESSENTIAL DEFINITIONS

### Migrants

For the purpose of this study asylum seekers and refugees are collectively defined as migrants. Thus the term migrant in this document does not pertain to South African citizens who have internally migrated (see chapter 1.2).

### City and city

City denotes the City of Cape Town Municipal Government, whereas city denotes the urban city region.



# TABLE OF CONTENTS



*Maitland Train Station, underutilised Transnet land  
(Photo by Guy Chiyanga)*



<b>1 - INTRODUCTION</b>	<b>10</b>
-1.1 Introduction	11
-1.2 Establishing the Problem and Aim of this Research Project	11
-1.3 Establishing the Main Research Question	13
-1.4 Identifying the Research Methods and Techniques for this Study	13
-1.5 Roadmap	14
<b>2- LITERATURE REVIEW</b>	<b>16</b>
-2.1 Introduction	17
-2.2 The Current Marginalisation of Migrants within South Africa	17
-2.3 Transnational Mobility and Neighbourhood Fluidity	21
-2.4 Social Capital in the Construction of Space	24
-2.5 Informality and Diversity within Migrant Neighbourhoods	26
-2.6 Citizenship	27
-2.7 The Just City and the Collaborative Planning Approach	29
-2.8 Conclusion	31
<b>3 - METHODOLOGY</b>	<b>36</b>
-3.1 Introduction	37
-3.2 Ethical Considerations	37
-3.3 Research Methods	38
-3.4 Limitations	41
-3.5 Research Techniques	41
-3.6 Data Analysis	45
-3.7 Conclusion	45
<b>4 - FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS</b>	<b>48</b>
-4.1 Introduction	49
-4.2 Cape Town: Case Study	49
-4.3 Testing the Port-Of-Entry Conceptualisation	53
-4.4 Assessing Cape Town Spatial Policy	73
-4.5 Conclusion	85
<b>5 - SUGGESTIONS AND CONCLUSION</b>	<b>92</b>
-5.1 Introduction	93
-5.2 An Alternative Planning Approach	93
-5.3 Policy Suggestions	104
-5.4 Conclusion	111
-5.5 Reflections	111
<b>6 - BIBLIOGRAPHY</b>	<b>112</b>
<b>7- APPENDICES</b>	<b>120</b>



# FIGURE LIST

## FIGURES:

- Figure 3.1 -** The case study area, The City of Cape Town municipal area
- Figure 4.1 -** Perceived migrant rich neighbourhoods
- Figure 4.2 -** Actual migrant rich neighbourhoods
- Figure 4.3 -** Neighbourhoods exhibiting migrant residential informality
- Figure 4.4 -** Migrant rich neighbourhoods in relation to manifestation of the second economy
- Figure 4.5 -** Spatialisation of transnational economic networks. Notice the strategic location of Maitland, Parow and Bellville in terms of transnational trade networks
- Figure 4.6 -** Neighbourhoods that exhibit dynamic and rich multicultural Genius Loci
- Figure 4.7 -** Cape Town's suburbs by socioeconomic status
- Figure 4.8 -** Migrant's social capital production within Cape Town
- Figure 4.9 -** Cape Town's migrant spatial pattern
- Figure 5.1 -** Proposed Maitland retrofit development zone
- Figure 5.2 -** Proposed Parow retrofit development zone

## PHOTOGRAPHS:

- Picture 4.1 & 4.2 -** Under the 'Bridge' outside Customs House in the Foreshore - a previously migrant occupied space
- Picture 4.3 -** A typical landing space for Francophones in Cape Town – Parow Apartments
- Picture 4.4 -** Informal accommodation in Maitland, an old industrial warehouse
- Picture 4.5 -** The Grand Parade market, a key informal employment space
- Picture 4.6 -** The corner of Buitenkant and Darling Streets, near Cape Town's central station, is a popular spot for informal construction workers to be picked up and dropped off (notice workers climbing into the construction vehicle)
- Picture 4.7 -** Parow's Station Street market is a large informal sector employment hub
- Picture 4.8 -** A small Chinese import oriented businesses along Voortrekker Road in Maitland
- Picture 4.9 & 4.10 -** The two forms of public transport most commonly associated with migrant livelihood strategies. The minibus taxi and the train, both of which are essential for the economic integration of migrants
- Picture 4.11 -** Parow station looking north up Station Street, Parow's main informal market place.
- Picture 4.12 -** A new residential development under construction in the Voortrekker Road Urban Development Zone. An example of well-located, high-density housing.
- Picture 4.13 -** Migrants from Cameroon and Congo DRC learning English at Scalabrini Refugee Centre
- Picture 4.14 -** Both Asylum seekers and refugees learn English at Scalabrini Refugee Centre in Cape Town CBD.

- Picture 4.15 -** A vacant ERF in Parow adjacent to a prominent church. Faith-based organisations are key enablers of public participation
- Picture 4.16 -** Maitland Park, an increasingly diverse space. Public spaces are key in enabling multicultural practices and defining a neighbourhood's unique genius loci
- Picture 5.1 -** A typically underutilised Maitland office and light industrial space on the Voortrekker Road. Retrofitting and vertical expansion would create high-density well-located housing coupled with mixed-use facilities (both key aspirations for Voortrekker Road Corridor development)
- Picture 5.2 -** At the beginning of Voortrekker Road, there is much underutilised office space in Salt River exhibiting the potential for retrofitting. Such strategic locations encourage the development of mixed-use developments, supporting the City of Cape Town's aims for the Corridor.

## **TABLES:**

- Table 4.1 -** Summary of chapter 4 research findings testing the port-of-entry conceptualisation in the Cape Town context
- Table 4.2 -** Summary of chapter 4 research findings regarding Cape Town's current spatial policy
- Table 5.1 -** Actors and actions in outworking this alternative planning approach
- Table 5.2 -** Actors and actions regarding migrant integration into housing waiting lists
- Table 5.3 -** Actors and actions regarding migrant integration into the formal labour market
- Table 5.4 -** Actors and actions regarding migrants' access to education



# 1

## INTRODUCTION



*Maitland Town Hall with Voortrekker Road in the foreground  
(Photo by Messi Kasongo)*

## 1.1 INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is to introduce the problem under investigation, as well as the aim and the main research questions of the study. The research problem concerns the marginalisation of migrants in South African planning processes and outcomes, with a specific focus on the situated Cape Town context. To this end, the following section of this introductory chapter explains why the marginalisation of migrants in local planning processes and outcomes remains a problem in Cape Town (and elsewhere in South Africa). This problem necessitates alternative urban planning approaches if municipal planners, policymakers and politicians hope to establish, as per the Constitution of South Africa (RSA, 1996), more 'just' and equitable cities. Herein, then, lies the overarching motivation and rationale for undertaking my research project, namely to promote more 'just' and equitable planning processes and outcomes that are cognisant of the diversity of all the residents who live and work in South African cities. The aim of my research project is thus outlined in Section 1.3 of this chapter. This outline is followed by an overview of the research methods and techniques that I will use in order to answer the main and subsidiary research questions, before concluding this chapter with a brief 'roadmap' of all of the chapters of the dissertation. Let us now turn to the problem and aim of this study.

## 1.2 ESTABLISHING THE PROBLEM AND AIM OF THIS RESEARCH PROJECT

Urban centres in liberal-democratic contexts around the globe are becoming increasingly cosmopolitan. A defining trait of cosmopolitan cities is their diversity and multi-cultural nature. However, as argued by Sandercock (2003), newcomers to a city are more often than not forced into a 'melting pot' of local cultures for the purpose of imposing an assimilation of cultures and identities. As a result, cultural diversification is often ignored by the host nation, because newcomers to a city are perceived to be 'pseudo-citizens'. This may be argued even if the cultural diversification of various cosmopolitan cities now resembles, to use Sandercock's (2003) metaphor, 'broths' of different nationalities, identities and cultural practices.

Particularly prominent within cities of the global South are notions of fluidity and transnational mobility within the constructs of urban space. This nomadic tendency transcends political barriers and shapes social lattices in cosmopolitan cities of the South. Transnational mobility, Crush and McDonald (2002) argue, is linked to the globalisation of capitalist production, which, in turn, is premised on a comparative advantage for cheap labour. Transnational mobility and transnationalism result in migration, settlement and the cultivation of backward linkages to countries of origin (Crush and McDonald, 2002). Glick Schiller et al. (1995, 48) refer to these linkages as the "simultaneous embeddedness in multiple societies", which adds entirely new complexities to the construction of space.

South Africa has a deep history of internal and cross boarder migration (Crush and McDonald, 2002; Crush, 2000). Migration into South Africa has increased dramatically since the fall of the Apartheid regime and the establishment of democracy, equity and freedom within the Constitution (RSA, 1996). South Africa is increasingly host to a Pan-African and global diversity of cultures and identities which is augmented by the influx of asylum seekers and refugees who cross South Africa's borders on an almost daily basis. For the purpose of my study, asylum seekers and refugees are collectively defined as migrants,



and it is their needs, livelihood strategies and contributions to South Africa's rapid diversification that require, what Sandercock (2003) terms, 'interculturalism'. Accordingly, and from an urban planning standpoint, interculturalism is an approach to planning theory and practice that purposefully seeks to incorporate migrants into cross-cultural activities, dialogues and organisations that go beyond simply supporting migrant community groups. Moreover, interculturalism respects diversity without aiming to establish assimilation. Evident within rapidly changing cities across the globe, including within South Africa, is a lack of understanding of how urban policies and practices might better address and work 'with' (as opposed to working 'against') cultural differences during planning processes that aim to promote greater justice and equity for all urban residents (ibid., see also Fainstein, 2010). This lack of understanding, which is evident in Cape Town (see chapters 2 and 4), is the problem under investigation in my research project.

Based on the aforementioned realities of cosmopolitan cities in the global South, and based on the problem of a lack of understanding and a respect for diversity in Cape Town (and elsewhere in South Africa), the overarching purpose of this dissertation is twofold. First, I aim to critically assess Abu-Lughod's (1994), Wacquant's (2007; 2008), and Winkler's (2006; 2013) arguments that municipal officials and policymakers of cosmopolitan cities should aim to recognise the invaluable function of 'port-of-entry neighbourhoods'. These are traditionally neighbourhoods of high diversity which support transnational mobility, because they act as 'incubation' spaces for newcomers to a city or region. Large amounts of social capital exist within these neighbourhoods. They are also 'fluid' in nature, as some residents see these areas as merely places to 'land' (Winkler, 2012; Abu-Lughod, 1994), whereas others are more permanently established within the neighbourhood and choose to reside in areas of rich cultural diversity.

If Abu-Lughod's (1994), Wacquant's (2007; 2008), and Winkler's (2006; 2013) assertions are in fact valid, then the recognition of port-of-entry neighbourhoods suggests the need for an alternative approach to planning than conventional approaches, since such neighbourhoods are in constant states of flux. Furthermore, the idea of a 'mobile', 'fluid' and 'transnational' resident constituency suggests a degree of difficulty in establishing resident participation in neighbourhood planning processes. Migrants in South African cities are often excluded from local planning processes, thereby hindering collaborative planning processes and inclusive outcomes. For all of these reasons, this research aims, first, to establish the validity and relevance of a port-of-entry conceptualisation within the Cape Town context.

Next, this research aims to identify a possible alternative approach to planning that is cognisant and respectful of migrants' diverse spatial and livelihood strategies in Cape Town. The role of planning within Cape Town, and within the neighbourhoods where migrants live and work, shall be investigated. As neighbourhoods associated with large numbers of migrants are often described as 'problem' or 'decaying' neighbourhoods by municipal officials and policymakers, this research critically evaluates the appropriateness of current planning policies and practices in Cape Town, and how these policies and practices accommodate (or fail to accommodate) migrants' activities and livelihood strategies. Ultimately, I hope to promote a more 'just' and intercultural city, as argued by Fainstein (2010) and Sandercock (2003), respectively.

In order to fulfil the twofold aim established for this study, this dissertation draws on the relevant literature that includes notions of 'diversity and interculturalism' (Sandercock); 'transnational mobility' and 'fluidity' (Simone; Crush and McDonald; Chipkin); 'collaborative planning' (Healey; Forester); the marginalisation of migrants in South African policies and planning processes (Landau; Kihato); 'port-of-entry' neighbourhoods (Abu-Lughod; Wacquant; Winkler); the social constructions of space (Simone, Sandercock); social capital (Putnam; Skocpol); and the 'just city' (Fainstein). An in-depth review of the relevant literature is presented in chapter 2. This review also sets-up the subsidiary research questions of this study.

### **1.3 ESTABLISHING THE MAIN RESEARCH QUESTION**

In order to address these two research aims, the main research questions ask: firstly, is the port-of-entry conceptualisation valid and relevant to the Cape Town's context? Regardless of the relevance of a port-of-entry conceptualisation, the second overarching aim of this study entails identifying an alternative approach to planning that is cognisant of migrants' settlement and livelihood strategies. As such, I also ask: What are some of the diverse spatial and livelihood strategies that migrants employ in order to survive in Cape Town? And, how might this knowledge inform an alternative approach to planning that is cognisant of these diverse strategies? Answers to these questions necessitate the use of a number of research methods and techniques, so that relevant data may be collected.

### **1.4 IDENTIFYING THE RESEARCH METHODS AND TECHNIQUES FOR THIS STUDY**

I will engage in a review and discourse analysis of the literature in order to establish a 'workable' (and 'researchable') definition of port-of-entry neighbourhoods. This review and analysis includes an examination of precedents and case studies from elsewhere for the purpose of 'testing' the relevance of a port-of-entry conceptualisation in Cape Town. A review and discourse analysis of the City of Cape Town's spatial policies will also take place in order to evaluate how sensitive the local state is towards migrants and their everyday livelihood strategies.

Furthermore, in order to gain deeper insights of migrants' livelihood strategies and spatial practices, I will make use of case study research methods and techniques. The metropolitan area of Cape Town is thus identified as the case study area for this study. Case study methods and techniques embody a fine-grained and more nuanced approach to data collection, which, for the most part, will concern the collection and mapping of qualitative research findings. In other words, primary data will be collected via open-ended and face-to-face interviews and storytelling techniques with migrants (both refugees and asylum seekers) in Cape Town. Research findings are mapped (see chapter 4). Interviews and storytelling techniques also seek explore the idea of 'port-of-entries' with research participants by asking migrants to recall their journeys to, and within, Cape Town. Additionally, I will make use of field-observations to gain a more nuanced understanding of the *genius loci* of Cape Town's migrant rich neighbourhoods. Quantitative data, in turn, will be used to corroborate and verify qualitative research findings.

A limitation of case study research methods is that one cannot generalize from a single case study. As such, findings shall only address policy which manifests at the local level. Nevertheless, research findings also speak of planning processes, and these processes are relevant to other cities in South Africa. Another limitation of this method is the tendency for researchers to confirm their preconceived ideas. Throughout the research process I aim to be aware of this limitation by addressing any potential biases that may arise. In chapter 3, I discuss how I aim to address potential biases. For now, let us conclude this chapter with a brief overview of how the dissertation will unfold.

## **1.5 ROADMAP**

In order to frame the marginalisation of migrants within South Africa, the next chapter critically discusses South African policy concerning migrants and their integration. In this chapter I seek to explicate the current institutional incapacity, high corruption levels and current mal-practice of the Department of Home Affairs (DoHA) that collectively entrench the marginalisation of migrants in South Africa. Here, I will also discuss the inability of migrants to convert their legal entitlements into effective and true entitlements. Thereafter, a definition of port-of-entry neighbourhoods is presented in order to critically evaluate its relevance in Cape Town. Through this review, a number of assessment criteria are established. Additional assessment criteria are also established from a review of other literature.

Chapter 3 entails an in-depth discussion of the research methods and techniques used to collect findings, as well as a discussion of how research findings are analysed. Chapter 4, in turn, is devoted to the analysis and evaluation of the Cape Town case study. From this evaluation a conclusive verdict will be made as to the relevance of the port-of-entry conceptualisation in the Cape Town context. Thereafter an evaluation of Cape Town's spatial policy shall be conducted. In this chapter I analyse the effectiveness of Cape Town's planning process and highlight areas that undermine migrants' integration techniques.

Finally, research findings are used to suggest an alternative planning policy that is more appropriate to migrant rich neighbourhoods in Cape Town. These suggestions, which are presented in chapter 5, seek to augment migrants' integration techniques, while creating a planning process that is more 'just', inter-cultural and cognisant of migrants' diverse livelihood strategies. As Cape Town is a key destination for migrants from across the continent, the role of planning concerning migrants is pertinent to the present, as well as the future, construction of Cape Town's urban space.



University of Cape Town



# 2

## LITERATURE REVIEW



*Maitland Park heading towards Maitland Station  
(Photo by Messi Kasongo)*



## 2.1 INTRODUCTION

As mentioned in Chapter 1, this study is purposefully designed to address three overarching, but interrelated, aims. First, it aims to identify current planning approaches pertaining to refugees' diverse spatial and livelihood strategies in Cape Town. Next, this study aims to explore the validity of the theoretical concept of a 'port-of-entry neighbourhood' within a situated context. Third, it aims to identify an alternative planning approach that is more cognisant of, and sensitive to, the often informality of migrants' everyday spatial and livelihood strategies. To this end, the purpose of this chapter is to establish assessment and recommendation criteria from a review of the relevant literature. These criteria, in turn, set-up the subsidiary research questions of this study, and they are used to evaluate the case study area (see chapter 4). Criteria identified from other scholars' work are also used to explore the conceptual idea of a port-of-entry neighbourhood within the Cape Town context. Finally, identified criteria are used to propose alternative planning approaches. Alternative approaches and recommendations are presented in chapter 5.

Much literature exists concerning the growing urban settlement patterns of migrants. However, very little literature exists concerning the potential role of port-of-entry neighbourhoods for newcomers (including refugees and asylum seekers) to a city. If the conceptual idea of a port-of-entry neighbourhood is relevant to Cape Town, such a finding suggests the need for alternative planning approaches other than conventional approaches adopted by municipalities for neighbourhood interventions. But first I need to establish this relevance via a critical review, and an in-depth case study exploration, of the scant literature on port-of-entry neighbourhoods.

This chapter is structured as follows: first, the current marginalisation of migrants within society is examined. Scholars' diverse understandings of transnational mobility and neighbourhood fluidity are reviewed. This section also entails an examination of social capital and the construction of space, particularly within neighbourhoods renowned for a large population of migrants. Thereafter, the chapter turns to an exploration of current planning approaches pertaining to migrants' diverse spatial and livelihood strategies in Cape Town.

Next, the conceptualisation of port-of-entry neighbourhoods, and their presumed characteristics, is reviewed from a critical standpoint. This review allows for the establishment of criteria that will be extracted and tested via a local case study. The notion of citizenship, particularly notions of active and insurgent citizenship, is also examined within the South African context. Finally, the two theoretical arenas of collaborative planning and the just city are reviewed in order to evaluate current planning practices pertaining to refugees and asylum seekers, and to inform alternative approaches to planning that consider the diverse livelihood strategies of these migrants within the urban context. This structure is such that it commences with the current plight of migrants within the urban environment, before discussing the literature that enables an exploration and fulfilment of the three main aims of this study.



## 2.2 THE CURRENT MARGINALISATION OF MIGRANTS WITHIN SOUTH AFRICA

South African cities have become destinations for refugees and asylum seekers from across Africa. South Africa's Constitution of 1996, which is unanimously recognised for its progressive nature, is widely regarded as setting a new standard for promoting social, economic and political rights and human dignity through state action (Landau, 2006). Societal integration of migrants is deemed politically unfeasible within the global political climate. Yet, the South African state actively encourages migrants to self-settle in urban areas (Polzer, 2004; Landau, 2006). Constitutionally the South African state is obliged to 'progressively realise' the conditions necessary for refugees and asylum seekers to live a life of dignity<sup>1</sup>. Particularly apparent is the lack of true entitlement, defined by Landau as, "people's actual ability to claim that to which they are legally entitled" (2006:310). This section seeks to ascertain the current marginalisation of migrants within the country and examine their current inability to transform their legal entitlements into effective protection and integration. What will become progressively apparent in this section is the intense social marginalisation experienced by asylum seekers and refugees alike.

South Africa is one of the only countries on the continent which actively promotes the integration of migrants into urban areas. The Department of Home Affairs (DoHA) maintains that there are no permanent refugee camps within its borders, although temporary holding and processing facilities have sporadically occurred at epicentres of cross-border migration or at places where outbreaks of xenophobic attacks have occurred. It is at this juncture that the terms asylum seeker, refugee and migrant need defining. The Refugee Amendments Bill (2010) draws strict definitions stating refugee status would be granted if the person applied:

- 1) owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted by reason of his or her race, gender, tribe, religion, nationality, political opinion or membership of a particular social group, was outside the country of his or her nationality and was unable to avail himself or herself of the protection of that country
  - 2) owing to external aggression, occupation, foreign domination or other events seriously disturbing public order in either part or the whole of his or her country of origin or nationality
  - 3) was a spouse or dependant of a person contemplated in the above two paragraphs
- (Extract, Refugee Amendment Bill B30B, 2010)

It further defined asylum seekers as:

...persons who had fled his or her country of origin and was seeking recognition as a refugee in the Republic of South Africa, and whose application was still under consideration. A refugee was an asylum seeker who had been granted asylum status and protection in terms of the Refugees Act No. 130 of 1998.

(Extract, Refugee Amendment Bill B30B, 2010)

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<sup>1</sup> Section 27 (2) of the South African Constitution (1996) states: (2) "The state must take reasonable legislative and other measures, within its available resources, to achieve the progressive realisation of each of these rights." This pertaining to rights listed in section 27 (1) namely; healthcare, food and water and social security and assistance. This section pertains to all inhabitants living in the country whether citizens or not.

Acutely apparent is the growing number of migrants entering South Africa seeking jobs particularly from neighbouring countries and those in the Southern African Development Community (SADC). As Crush and MacDonald (2000) explain, there has been a very visible expansion of foreign hawkers and traders on South Africa's streets, not only from the SADC region but also from further afield. These economic asylum seekers, although themselves maintain that they are fleeing economic depression and often livelihood threatening economic situations, are treated by South African national policy as temporary residents and are subjected to gruelling interview processes regarding their purposes, intended periods of stay and economic history when attempting to gain work permits (Ibid, 2000). A failing of South African legislation is the lack of choice for such economic asylum seekers. As the application process for work permits and temporary residents requires an individual to have one hundred thousand rand in a personal bank account, it makes applying for such permits an impossibility for most migrants attempting to work in South Africa. As such, said migrants are forced to apply for asylum status. As once granted they are afforded the right to work <sup>2</sup>. Whilst appearing to 'take advantage' of the system, migrants are merely following the most rational course of action in order to make a living in South Africa. This tendency has placed a large amount of pressure upon the Department of Home Affairs and has slowed the processing of all asylum seeker permits, legitimate or not. The number of formally recognised refugees is diminutive in comparison to those formally recognised as asylum seekers. According to the UNHCR at the end of 2011 there were approximately 220,000 registered asylum seekers and approximately 63,000 registered refugees <sup>3</sup>(UNHCR, 2013). For this reason I shall address the plight of asylum seekers and refugees collectively by the term migrants in the rest of this dissertation.

During Apartheid the Aliens Control Act No 30 of 1973 was promulgated to control the influx of foreign nationals into the country. This act was heavily race-based and has since been described as a blatant and unashamed instrument of white racial supremacy (Khan, 2007. Landau and Vigneswaran, 2007). As legislation regarding migration has eased and economic growth has steadily increased, South Africa's cities have become destination spaces for a variety of migrants ranging from asylum seekers from bordering Zimbabwe, to refugees from as far afield as Somalia. South Africa is increasingly host to a global constituency, predominantly Pan-African, of legal and undocumented migrants (Crush & MacDonald, 2000). Apparent in the new migration trends in post-apartheid South Africa is the degree of permanence of new migrants (Ibid). The Mozambican migration of the 1980s stands testament to the impermanence of asylum seekers, as much of the 350,000 refugees that fled Mozambique's civil war have subsequently returned home. The late 1990s saw the tightening of South African migrant policy, in an attempt to ensure asylum seekers remain temporary (Ibid, 2000) <sup>4</sup>.

The changing attitude towards migrants has resolved to one of temporary protection – that migrants should leave when conditions in their country of origin are conducive to return (Rwamatwara, 2005).

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<sup>2</sup> As national policy encourages refugees and asylum seekers (section 24 and 22 permit holders) to integrate themselves into society, the right to work is afforded as soon as asylum status is granted. Without this afforded right, migrants would be extremely limited in terms of economic integration.

<sup>3</sup> As previously discussed refugees are initially granted asylum status making these statistics a little vague as many of these asylum seekers will be in the process of applying for full refugee status.

<sup>4</sup> South Africa did not recognise refugees until 1993. Subsequently the country became a signatory to the United Nations (UN) and Organisation of African Unit (AU), and implemented a new Refugees Act in 1998 (become effective in 2000) (Department of Home Affairs, 2013).



This shift was reinforced in 1998 when Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the then minister of Home Affairs, stated that there were between 2.5 and 5 million illegal 'aliens' in South Africa who were costing the State 'billions of Rand per year' (Solomon, 2000:1). The very person appointed to protect the rights of refugees clearly portrayed a differing sentiment to that of his office (Solomon, 2000). The notions of 'citizenship', 'aliens' and 'xenophobia' shall be later discussed, as this xenophobic sentiment would prove to be not exclusively held by the Minister of Home Affairs.

South African legislation has in two ways augmented marginalisation of migrants within South African society despite opposing constitutional intentions. First, as Landau (2006) explains, the government position on promotion of migrant integration within urban areas is a commendable policy in its efforts to promote human dignity and 'active development', yet there are a number of institutional and societal drawbacks in the realisation of rights (2006). Specialist assistance to migrants becomes difficult to administer in a sprawled environment, it becomes expensive and most worryingly it often fosters resentment from host communities who are not able to realise their rights as citizens of the country. Although this policy has been successful in its intention to integrate migrants and to empower them to fund their own 'refuge', it is the single largest contributor to the xenophobic sentiment and social marginalisation of migrants in South Africa. Migrant economic networks have been documented widely as a key factor in the economic integration of many migrants within South Africa. These economic networks have flourished most prominently in informal settlements and lower income areas, which became the epicentres of the 2008 xenophobic attacks. Dodson (2010: 3) maintains that the causes of the May 2008 attacks lie in a complex web of economic, political, social, and cultural factors and that "less violent, ordinary experiences of xenophobia are part of the everyday lives of African migrants in South Africa". The perpetrators of the xenophobic violence in 2008 were marginalised citizens of South Africa who were also failing to realise certain constitutional rights and viewed foreigners as the reason for these rights being unrealised. Perhaps the most impeding actuality for migrants in South Africa is not the inability to realise their constitutional rights, but the social marginalisation by citizens of the country due to the relative economic success of migrants compared to their South African counterparts

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This social marginalisation transcends mere societal encounters. It manifests in the interactions of migrants with civil servants, often further impeding their access to constitutional rights. The national government's 'laissez-faire' approach to migrants has often meant the difference between the realisation of effective state protection and unrealised rhetoric. Moreover, effective promotion of social and spatial integration has often come through non-governmental bodies. Landau argues that more material assistance and active promotion of integration in the economy is required. These need not be elaborate programmes, yet there are constitutional rights that need to be provided, such as emergency housing, education, healthcare, language and skills classes and start up loans services (Landau, 2006). Emergency housing, education and healthcare are planning issues that need attention from the appropriate national government departments in conjunction with local and provincial planning departments. Location of emergency housing is perhaps the most prominent planning implication as it affects all other spheres

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<sup>5</sup> Social marginalisation of migrants is a factor, which requires much sensitivity within urban planning, as notions of access to housing, access to education and access to employment are extremely controversial. Integration policy in the past has often led to greater marginalisation and xenophobic sentiment.

of delivery. The material location of communities has implications upon all realms of infrastructure, as there is an added number of populous dependant upon that infrastructure. Often these communities are associated with informality and insurgent citizenship, to be discussed later in the review, which often has negative repercussions upon service delivery in the region. Apparent throughout South African migration literature is the lack of capacity within the Department of Home Affairs (DoHA). The department is still fulfilling a regulating, policing and deportation role when dealing with foreign nationals, rather than the intended processing and integration role. Moreover, the DoHA isn't working with any of the state's planning departments. Arguably, the DoHA seems not to recognise the aforementioned planning issues at all.

When reviewing the current marginalisation of migrants within South Africa a number of subsidiary questions arise. These are:

- i. Can a reviewed planning perspective towards migrants rectify their marginalisation?
- ii. Is the DoHA able to rectify these negative implications by simply locating migrants in appropriately located housing?
- iii. Is the spatial marginalisation of migrants politically or ethnically motivated, as social marginalisation has often been?

This section has reviewed the current status of migrant communities within South African society. As a means of empowering development, migrants have been encouraged to integrate into the urban fabric of South African communities. As previously discussed, this had predominantly negative impacts upon the realisation of rights that refugees and asylum seekers are entitled to. Resultant factors of this integration are the manifestations of the diverse spatial and livelihood strategies of migrants. Transnational mobility and neighbourhood fluidity are two of these manifestations. The forthcoming section shall address these manifestations within the context of migrant communities residing in South Africa.

## **2.3 TRANSNATIONAL MOBILITY AND NEIGHBOURHOOD FLUIDITY**

Glick Shiller and Fouron (1999: 344) define transnational migration as, "a pattern of migration in which persons, although they move across international borders, settle and establish on-going social relations in a new state, maintaining on-going social connections with the polity from which they originated". Transnational migrants live their lives across international borders, living a life of "simultaneous embeddedness" in multiple societies (Glick Shiller et al, 1995:48; Crush and MacDonald: 2000). Perhaps the most obvious transnational 'flows' are the economic networks within migrant neighbourhoods, described by Portes et al (1999: 219) as, "truly original phenomenon" constituted by, "the high intensity of exchanges, the new modes of transacting, and the multiplication of activities that require cross-border travel and contacts on a sustainable basis." Crush and Macdonald (2002) attribute the growth and strength of these economic networks to the liberalisation of capitalism and wealth mobility. Massey et al (1994) in their cumulative theory of transnational migration maintain that migration is a



'iterative process' which over time, as social capital and migrant networks grow, becomes increasingly dependent of the original causal conditions (Crush and MacDonald, 2000). It is these networks that lessen migrants' natural disposition to marginalisation, discrimination and exploitation by the host nation. This transnational mobility perspective focuses upon networks and linkages, which form social capital and ultimately augment transnational migration and induce migrant permanence.

The increasing permanence and the aforementioned government attempt to reverse this trend is a clear indicator of emerging transnational migration and a true transnational social and economic field. This trend has significant spatial implications, with neighbourhoods of transnational flow becoming entrenched within the urban fabric of South African cities. Subsequently, this trend has increased the number of opportunist economic migrants, increasing the pressure on infrastructure in specific areas such as Hillbrow in Johannesburg (Winkler, 2013). The growth and permanence of the social and economic transnational fields directly results in the increase in transnational spaces and spatial areas devoted to transnational mobility. As Crush and MacDonald (2000) argue, the establishment of transnational spaces not only encourages increased transnational flow, but they enable permanent 'simultaneous embeddedness' in transnational spaces across the continent. The notion of simultaneous embeddedness portrays an individual's ability to live, invest in, and maintain social networks in a number of places at once, even places across national borders. The emergence of Pan-African spaces within South African cities is becoming more apparent and these spaces have delicate constructions. As Abu-Lughod (1994) and Wacquant (2007) argue, when assessing neighbourhoods devoted to transnational mobility one has to deconstruct linear market rationalities and the one dimensional poor neighbourhood concept. One has to view these neighbourhoods as complex lattices of transnational flow, fluidity and non-conformity. These lattices manifest as transnational social networks, family networks and irregular networks of power and economic dependence. These delicate social and spatial lattices are the defining characteristics of port-of-entry neighbourhoods.

Transnationalism frames port-of-entry neighbourhoods as spaces that permit simultaneous belonging. These spaces are ones in which cross-border, small-scale trading can be performed. Hillbrow, Johannesburg's port-of-entry neighbourhood, for example, has become an anchor for conventional and unconventional small-sized to medium sized trading across the continent (Crush and MacDonald, 2000; Simone, 2001; Winkler, 2013). This small scale trading has become ever more profitable and its success has contributed to the trend in permanence of migrants within South Africa. Small scale businesses although they are popular amongst migrant communities and result in the spatial manifestation of transnational mobility, they are not necessarily inclusive economic strategies. What will become progressively apparent throughout the case study is the often-fragmented nature of migration within South Africa. Ultimately, this means that there are large numbers of migrants without access to transnational economic networks. These members of the migrant community require integration into South Africa's already over saturated labour market.

Standing et al. (1996) note, in conditions of economic rationalisation and sectoral recession migrants are undeterred by the rising job shedding. There have been open articulations of preference for non-south African labour in non-unionized sectors such as services and agriculture (Rogerson, 1999). Whilst this is not necessarily an indicator of transnational flow it demonstrates a common perception of

migrants as hard workers and able to relocate easily in order to fulfil sectorial labour needs. Numerous governmental institutions have subsequently condemned this overt preference for migrant work as such sentiments were viewed as catalytic factors in the xenophobic attacks of 2008. This said the very nature of transnational mobility has resulted in a fluid and mobile labour market of migrants. The implication of this mobility shall be highlighted in the following section when addressing the notion of citizenship and the, perhaps limited, demand of national government for active citizenry within the entire population group of South Africa, including migrant communities.

There are large numbers of well-educated foreign nationals, most of whom seek refugee status, coming into South Africa. The United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) has even termed this occurrence the 'Brain Gain' as opposed to the common 'Brain Drain' effect (UNHCR, 2005). Their education levels resolve them in a mobile position, allowing them to react to the needs of the labour market. In a report by the UNHCR it was suggested that these educated migrants are often unable to find employment equal to that of their qualification level, however their education makes them more employable than uneducated South African citizens applying for the same job (UNHCR, 2005). This fluidity manifests spatially as well-educated migrants are more likely to relocate in an attempt to find employment more appropriate to their skill set.

Hyper-fluidity is a very defining characteristic of port-of-entry neighbourhoods. Simone (2011) maintains that in Hillbrow cross-border traders from other African countries travel back and forth to trade and purchase commodities. Hillbrow acts as a short-term home for many Pan-African traders (Winkler, 2013). Furthermore, many transient residents of Hillbrow do not perceive it as a long-term investment, either financially or emotionally and are merely passing through (Winkler, 2012). This fluidity of residents is another defining characteristic of a port-of-entry neighbourhoods.

Informality is a recurring notion when discussing neighbourhoods of hyper-fluidity and transnational mobility. Roy (2005) argues that informality has previously been viewed as a land-use problem, which can be 'solved' through the use of projects to restore 'order' to such areas. These areas have been viewed as outside of the role of planning as little could be done within these zones of chaotic un-conformity and often non-legal activity. Within the South African context this informality has become the very enabler of transnational mobility as there is little in the way of land-use regulation, health and safety compliance and as such are places for residents to remain anonymous and live with little interference from authorities. Roy (2005, 2009) maintains that the failure of planning and the splintering of cities through privatisation of planning and development has resulted in such zones of informality. A new approach towards such spaces is therefore required. Not merely a better approach, but a fundamental shift away from land-use planning to viewing informality through the lens of distributive justice (Roy, 2005).

As such, I will seek answers to the following subsidiary research questions:

- i. Are there areas of Cape Town that exhibit spatial manifestations of transnational mobility?  
If so, where are these areas?



- ii. Do migrants within Cape Town view it as a destination space or a temporary 'launching pad' to other destinations around the globe?
- iii. Are there areas of Cape Town that lend themselves to informal small-scale transnational trade?
- iv. Are the areas recognised by the City of Cape Town as lending themselves to the informal areas in which many migrant communities are located?
- v. What does the approach of distributive justice mean for migrants living within informal neighbourhoods?

## 2.4 SOCIAL CAPITAL IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF SPACE

As port-of-entry neighbourhoods are associated with 'crime and grime' and 'squalor', they simultaneously exhibit a depth and richness disassociated from built infrastructure or contribution to gross domestic product (GDP) (Winkler, 2012). It is the sociological concept of social capital that comprehensively explicates the importance of such neighbourhoods. In this chapter I shall unpack the concept of social capital and its importance within port-of-entry neighbourhoods.

The concrete actuality of the city cannot be captured in one glance, yet we routinely participate in visual games that represent cities as simple objects, conveniently seen from a single point of view. Not only do we engage in this collective fiction of seeing the whole from a part, we routinely participate in rhetorical fallacies such as understanding the probable future from what we see in the present moment in an environment or scene - for example, we attempt to discern the risks of a place from how it 'looks' to us now  
(Extract, Shields, 2004:1)

James Coleman (1988: 98) defines social capital as, "a variety of entities with two characteristics in common; they all consist of some aspect of social structure and they facilitate actions within their structure". It is this social structure that can either advance or constrain an individual's goal seeking and can even redefine such goals (Ibid.). From this premise Granovetter developed a concept of social embeddedness, suggesting that the web of social relations in which an individual is nested provides the means and meanings of social actions (1985). Portes and Julia Sensenbrenner (1993: 1323) expand upon Coleman's early definition of social capital by defining it as "those expectations for actions within a collectivity that affect the economic goals and goal-seeking behaviour of its members, even if these expectations are not orientated toward the economic sphere".

In order to fully understand social capital's impact upon a space one must unpack the notion of collective expectations, as suggested by Portes and Sensenbrenner. The first expectation put forward is that of value interjection, defined by Weber as, "an obligation, which the individual is supposed to feel towards the content of his or her professional activity...for the benefit of the community" (1958: 54). It acts as the initial source of social capital within a community as it, "prompts individuals to behave in ways other than naked greed, thus becoming appropriable by others or by the collectivity as a resource" (Portes & Sensenbrenner, 1993: 1324). The second expectation is reciprocity transactions or the accumulation of

favours based on the good deeds to others “backed by the norm of reciprocity” (Ibid: 1324). The third source of social capital is that of bounded solidarity which “focuses on those situational circumstances that can lead to the emergence of principled group-orientated behaviour” (Ibid: 1324). This speaks to notions of insurgent citizenship, which shall be discussed later in Section 2.6. The final source of social capital is accumulated from enforceable trust. Within the realm of embeddedness, enforceable trust describes the creation of social capital through disciplined compliance with group expectations by every member of the collectivity (Ibid). Each of these expectations act as individual motivation for compliance within the collectivity and if adhered to seek to benefit it greatly.

This said the emergent sentiment of ‘we-ness’ is not necessarily beneficial for the individual within the collectivity. Moreover, the attachment of migrants to a certain social group has been documented to add more limitations to their existing marginalisation. The cost of community solidarity is similar to entrepreneurs and professionals alike, as they are the key capital contributors to the collectivity and are constantly harassed by job and loan seeking kinsmen (Portes & Sensenbrenner, 1993). Social capital also constrains the freedom of similar individuals within the collectivity as expectations place limitations on individual actions and openness to outside culture. This limits the individual’s expansion and dealings with non-members of the collectivity. The successful individuals are ‘held level’ by less successful members of their collectivity. Extreme solidarity restricts the scope of personal action and limits the privileged access to economic resources (Portes & Sensenbrenner, 1993). This ethnic entrapment can result in the lack of integration with the economic environment outside of the collectivity, usually resulting in heavy limitations upon economically successful individuals whom could easily integrate into the host nation they are located in.

Social Capital serves as an analytical concept through which one is able to examine *space* and *place*. A defining characteristic of port-of-entry neighbourhoods is the evident development of social capital and the varying forms of livelihood strategies. Through the research I shall maintain sensitivity towards the creation and manifestation of social capital and the associated collective expectations as these are defining factors of the diverse livelihood strategies of residents within port-of-entry neighbourhoods.

As such, I will seek answers to the following subsidiary research questions:

- i. What are the expectations of the collectivity within different ethnic groups in Cape Town? Are professionals members being ‘held level’ by associating with their collective?
- ii. Is there a direct correlation between societal integration and lack of association with collectivities?
- iii. Does social capital manifest spatially within Cape Town’s urban fabric?

## **2.5 INFORMALITY AND DIVERSITY WITHIN MIGRANT NEIGHBOURHOODS**

In the early twenty-first century Africa has produced some of the highest urban growth rates in the world and it is likely that refugees and asylum seekers are a significant part of this urban growth

(Simone, 2003. Landau, 2004). This migrant influx stands as an added strain on the already over-capacitated infrastructural networks within South Africa's cities. In these urban areas migrants forge social, economic and kinship ties that link cities to other urban nodes and rural areas in other countries. This is a rarely recognized form of globalization 'from below' (Sassen, 1995. Landau, 2004). It is these rich and diverse networks of social capital that define certain neighbourhoods within many of South Africa's cities. This section will conceptualise these neighbourhoods, highlighting their role within South Africa's urban fabric.

The words chaotic, hyper-fluid and dysfunctional have been used to describe Hillbrow, Johannesburg's port-of-entry neighbourhood (Winkler, 2012). From a capitalist market driven perspective these areas require 'cleaning up' and regeneration through public and private sector investments. The East village in Manhattan, New York's historic port-of-entry neighbourhood, remained one of the lowest land value and lowest rental neighbourhoods in the increasingly expensive city for most of the twentieth century (Abu-Lughod, 1994). The East Village survived the ever-increasing Manhattan gentrification that occurred throughout the twentieth century. It survived largely due to community mobilisation, which blocked the mass clearance and resale of sites, including those which had already been designated for urban renewal (Abu-Lughod, 1994). This community mobilisation has to be reviewed when understanding such neighbourhoods. Planning approaches in such neighbourhoods require a mobilised planning approach that empowers and collaborates with those living in informality. An alternative planning approach should incorporate community leadership, equitable and inclusionary principles and perhaps a new practice of radical and insurgent planning (Miraftab, 2009).

Aptly named, port-of-entry neighbourhoods typically facilitate integration and readjustment of newcomers into to a city. They act as a place to 'land', find ones feet, generate social capital and build social networks (Abu-Lughod, 1994; Wacquant, 2007; Winkler, 2013). Within these neighbourhoods there is a widely fluctuating degree of transience in their inhabitants. Some view these neighbourhoods as semi-permanent homes, in which they have established firm social networks, often establishing economic opportunity as well. Others view the neighbourhood as merely a gateway to the city and upon finding their feet they move on (Ibid). The informality and availability of rental schemes within these neighbourhoods has historically enabled this fluid and transient nature. Weekly rental, cash rental, rent a bed and rent a room are all informal rental schemes commonly used by migrants within these neighbourhoods.

Cultural diversity is another defining characteristic of port-of-entry neighbourhoods. Neither the East Village nor Hillbrow have ever portrayed a single cultural typology. These neighbourhoods act as 'caldrons' of diversity in which many cultures intermingle and are able to establish themselves simultaneously. Diversity in resident constituencies results in constantly fluctuating networks of cooperation and conflict (Abu-Lughod, 1994). It is the manifestations of this cooperation that gives such neighbourhoods distinctive *genius loci* <sup>6</sup>. It is such conflict that fuels policy maker's perceptions of dysfunctionality and chaos. In the case of Johannesburg there has been little recognition of the vital role performed by Hillbrow within the increasingly cosmopolitan city (Winkler, 2012). Sandercock (2003)

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<sup>6</sup> The *genius loci*, or place of being, differ from neighbourhood to neighbourhood depending upon the different cultures represented yet all are rich and diverse.



argues for diverse, inclusive cities which necessitate an integrating culture and appropriate practice of civil workers, especially the police, teachers, judges and planners. New notions of citizenship are required, that are more responsive to newcomers' claims to rights to the city. This proactive perception of inclusive cities will stimulate integration as it comes from a place of understanding and preparedness to work with the emotions that drive conflicts over integration (Sandercock, 2003). The instabilities associated with resident fluidity and cultural conflicts are unremittingly the focus of neighbourhood rejuvenation plans, which ultimately seek to formalise the informal. This, as discussed in section 2.3, results in a fragmented city structure as it does little to rectify the reasons for informality. Rather, it merely relocates it (Roy, 2005).

Informality<sup>7</sup> is an integral characteristic of port-of-entry neighbourhoods as it allows for fluidity and anonymity of residents. These neighbourhoods shield their residents from certain actions and agencies of the state (Abu-Lughod, 1994). As previously mentioned, Hillbrow is infamous as a place of 'squalor' and 'grime and crime' and the city of Johannesburg local government maintains that it requires a stricter enforcement of by-laws (Winkler, 2013). It is this perception, commonly held within local governments, that the latter part of this paper seeks to address, with the proposal of alternate planning techniques, cognisant of the diverse livelihood strategies within such neighbourhoods.

The argument mounted thus far raises the following subsidiary questions:

- i. Are port-of-entry neighbourhoods empirically associated with 'crime and grime' and the 'squalor' often found within local government rhetoric?
- ii. Can port-of-entry neighbourhoods exist without this informality?
- iii. Does cultural diversity complicate planning processes and should the Department of Home Affairs manage the settlement patterns of certain people groups?
- iv. Are port-of-entry neighbourhoods a necessity for integration of urban migrants?
- v. How can state led urban planning rid these neighbourhoods of the ills of informality yet not detriment the inherent nature of such neighbourhoods?

## 2.6 CITIZENSHIP

A recurrent theme within the National Spatial Development Plan (NSDP)<sup>8</sup> is 'the Right to the City'. Governments and organisations are increasingly using this notion across the globe to emphasise the full realisation of rights of urban citizens. The concept also highlights the need for social solutions to the realisation of the rights of the urban poor to land and housing (van Donk and Görgens, 2012). This dialogue suggested that the key components of a Right to the City agenda in South Africa consist of ensuring all residents:

<sup>7</sup> Informality as discussed in Roy (2005, 2009) manifests as informality of rental schemes, weak enforcement of by-laws and the loose nature of resident investment into the neighbourhood.

<sup>8</sup> The NSDP is the South African national Government's 2030 vision document, the primary spatial development policy document.

- the right to be in the city
- the right to access city resources and opportunities
- the right to be involved in city making

As discussed in section 2.2 the aforementioned rights are not being realised in their entirety by the refugee and migrant communities within South Africa, this is true of many poor residents throughout the country. A recurring rhetoric within the NSDP is the emphasis on how these rights are realised being just as important as whether they are realised. Simultaneously emphasised in the NSDP are 'active citizenry' and a 'capable state' (van Donk and Görgens, 2012). This perspective of citizenship is captured within the vision as means to "systematically include the socially and economically excluded, where people are active champions of their own development, and where government works effectively to develop people's capabilities to lead the lives they desire" (RSA, 2006:1).

Communities should contribute to practical problem-solving and upgrading schemes, and hold municipalities accountable...by means of properly funded, citizen-led neighbourhood vision and planning processes  
(Ibid: 26)

Friedmann (2002:76) posits that active citizenship is "engaged" and "grounded in civil society". It moves beyond formal citizenship to a substantive one that concerns an array of civil, political, social, and economic rights, including the right to shelter, clean water, sewage discharge, education, and basic health—in short, the right to the city (Lefebvre, 1996).

When framing the notion of citizenship within migrant populations one cannot imply a simplistic one-dimensional vision of 'active citizenship'. As the literature of citizenship has shifted its centre from the state to the people, a plethora of new definitions of citizenship have arisen, including participatory citizenship, inclusive citizenship (Gaventa, 2002; Kabeer, 2002), active citizenship (Kearns, 1995; Lister, 1997), and citizenship from below or "insurgent citizenship" (Holston, 1998). As outlined in 2.2 migrant communities often live on the margins of society, there are many occasions when an individual or a community wish to remain anonymous and therefore do not wish to partake in active citizenry. For hyper-fluid and mobile residents there is little incentive to invest and become active in a community which they treat as a zone of transition. The implications for planning are two fold. Firstly, within forward planning proposals one cannot assume notion of active citizenship and thus civic groups such as neighbourhood forums have to be incentivised or actively encouraged. Secondly, informality cannot be solved through simplistic neo-liberal developmental processes. As Roy (2005) maintains, it is through processes of distributive justice that spaces lend themselves to anonymity allowing insurgent citizenship to be simultaneously maintained and improved.

In the South African context, the exclusionary concept of citizenship has been woven together with the accessibility of housing and basic urban services to urban dwellers (Miraftab & Wills, 2005). Exclusionary citizenship has manifested throughout post-apartheid history, a prominent example being the anti-eviction mass protest campaigns that have arisen state eviction orders (Miraftab & Wills, 2005). As the

National Government's developmental literature adamantly utilises the active citizenship perspective as method for achieving developmental goals, one has to question its appropriateness within port-of-entry neighbourhoods. As previously discussed migrant populations within South Africa are very often marginalised and struggle to access even the most basic constitutional rights. The exclusionary citizenship perspective is thus extended to many migrant communities within South Africa. Moreover, one has to question its effectiveness within communities where many inhabitants intend to remain anonymous and not participate within notions of active citizenship or 'citizen led neighbourhood visions'. A primary role of port-of-entry neighbourhoods is that of a harbouring space for those wanting to remain anonymous, not wanting to become active citizens within their neighbourhood. Planning projects within such neighbourhoods therefore require a large amount of sensitivity towards their inhabitants due to the variability in the desire to participate and involve themselves within the host nation's development.

## **2.7 THE JUST CITY AND THE COLLABORATIVE PLANNING APPROACH**

As mentioned in chapter 1 a secondary aim of this paper is to examine the role of planning within port-of-entry neighbourhoods. Ultimately this paper seeks to provide an alternative approach to planning within such neighbourhoods that is cognisant of migrants' diverse spatial and livelihood strategies. In order to ascertain a theoretical underpinning for such a strategy one must examine both the collaborative planning and the just city approach.

The late twentieth century saw the demise of the once dominant modernist rational, scientific planning and the subsequent emergence of a planning cognisant of equity and diversity. This became known as the radical planning turn, one with social transformation at its core. To this end Fainstein (2000: 452) raised the question, "What is the possibility of consciously achieving widespread improvement in the quality of human life within the context of a global capitalist political economy?" Fainstein (2005:121) saw a disjuncture between planners discussing their role, "with little reference either to the socio-spatial constraints under which they do it or the object that they seek to affect". There was a post-modern realisation that there was a growing polarity between planners and their clients, or rather an expert knowledge versus experiential knowledge of the field. It is from this understanding, that planning cannot divorce the analytical and explanatory theory with normative and descriptive theory, that the Just City<sup>9</sup> approach was conceived.

The ideal that everyone's opinion should be respectfully heard and that no particular group should be privileged in an interchange is an important normative argument. But it is not a sufficient one, and it does not deal adequately with the classic conundrums of democracy. These include the problems of insuring adequate representation of all interests in a large, socially divided group; of protecting against demagoguery; of achieving more than token

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<sup>9</sup> Fainstein (2010) posits that a planner's role is to understand the relationship between the urban context and the planning activity allowing for a more equitable, democratic and diverse city space.



public participation; of preventing economically or institutionally powerful interests from defining the agenda; and of maintaining minority rights.

(Extract, Fainstein, 2005:125)

According to Fainstein (2010), the criteria of a just city necessitate:

- A city is an inherently good and diverse organism; one must view it as such in order to be effective.
- A planner is an advocate, representing the city's inhabitants.
- The core concepts of this approach are equality and diversity.
- Ultimately the state is planning for the common good.
- The just city approach posits capitalism as a causal factor of social and spatial inequality, therefore a single dimension, market driven planning approach will only augment inequality.

Similarly to Fainstein, theorists such as Healey (1999) Watson (2009) and Sandercock (2005) focused planning upon guiding principles and processes of projects as well as concerning it with the conditions of the very people it affects. This sparked interest in the local approach and dislodged the traditional role of the state. Thus the collaborative planning approach was born; one that focussed upon empowerment of groups outside of the state. Yiftachel posits:

...it is the double-edged nature of the state, its ability to effect both regressive or progressive social change, that must be stressed

(Extract, 1998, cited in Fainstein (2000: 470))

Communicative, or collaborative, planning conceptualises participation both from the perspective of local people, and from that of state actors. As part of its normative agenda of institutional capacity building, collaborative planning seeks to revise governance mechanisms to create a sustainable balance of power between the state and its citizens (Beard, 2002). Healey (2002) posits more transparent communication will lead to a more ethical and inclusive planning practice, thus collaborative planning practices are required for a successful, inclusive and equal city. Similarly Forester (2006) argues that planners act as mediators and encourages them to use public participatory processes in contentious planning disputes.

Sandercock (2003:322) in framing her argument for multi-cultural cities argues that it is imperative that bureaucracies promulgate social policies which address, "cultural difference and cultivates qualities necessary to overcome discrimination and marginalisation". She posits that planning must go beyond mere public participation sessions, it must embrace the language of inter-culturalism<sup>10</sup> within a city. An integrating culture and appropriate practice of municipal workers, especially the police, teachers, judges and planners combined with local level political commitment to developing integration initiatives through means of cooperative involvement of a breadth of organisations will proactively instigate an inclusive, integrating nature within a city (Sandercock, 2003). This necessitates a multi-tiered political and policy support system from national to local governance which embraces new notions of citizenship

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<sup>10</sup> Sandercock argues that true multi-cultural societies go beyond supporting organisations within immigrant groups, they, "work to incorporate migrants into cross-cultural activities, dialogues and organisations" (2003:321).

that are more responsive to newcomer's claims to rights to the city (Sandercock, 2003).

From this literature the following subsidiary research questions have arisen:

- i. How does the language of inter-culturalism manifest within the Cape Town context?
- ii. According to Fainstein's just city criteria do the City of Cape Town's planning policies actively promulgate a just city?

## 2.8 CONCLUSION

Throughout this chapter I have undertaken reviews of relevant literature in order to develop a conceptual understanding of port-of-entry neighbourhoods, migrant livelihoods and the role of planning in an inclusive city. Whilst this paper specifically focuses upon the plight of migrants, port-of-entry neighbourhoods are vital for many types of newcomers to the city. Due to South African migration legislation most, if not all, of the foreign inhabitants within port-of-entry neighbourhoods will have sought asylum at some stage in their relocation into South Africa<sup>11</sup>. It is this asylum status that allows migrants to integrate into society. Yet this integration, although aided by engaging legislation, is undermined by heavy societal marginalisation and lack of realisation of rights. This marginalisation (at times heavy xenophobic sentiments) has ultimately deepened the dependence upon migrant 'landing spaces' with South African urban fabric.

Port-of-entry neighbourhoods have fulfilled this role in other cities around the globe. In order to test their existence within the Cape Town context a thorough conceptualisation has been developed as a means of comparison. Port-of-entry neighbourhoods are places in which social capital is created through migrant networks and complex lattices of ethnic or national groups. They are neighbourhoods, which due to the lax enforcement of by-laws and subsequent informality become trading bases for transnational capital and human flow. Moreover, transnational fluidity speaks to notions of simultaneous embeddedness, in which citizens are active in different societies simultaneously. In port-of-entry neighbourhoods this manifests as migrant trading networks and Pan-African trading centres. Informality is key within these neighbourhoods as it contains transgressions against by-laws and land-use stipulations, allowing for fluidity and mobility of migrant communities and economic networks.

Notions of citizenship have to be addressed when discussing port-of-entry neighbourhoods. Contrary to the notions of active citizenry promulgated by national government literature, a defining characteristic of port-of-entry neighbourhoods is the transient nature of its inhabitants and subsequent apprehensive approach to neighbourhood investment. Rather than active citizenry, inhabitants often choose to be completely passive, remaining anonymous, due to the temporary nature of their stay within the neighbourhood.

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<sup>11</sup> As clarified in 2.2 refugees are first issued with asylum seeker status during the longer processing period of their refugee status.

All of the aforementioned characteristics of port-of-entry neighbourhoods are quite different to those of a 'normal' urban neighbourhood. Often branded as 'ghettos' or neighbourhoods of 'squalor' and festering 'crime and grime', port-of-entry neighbourhoods are often the subjects of local governments' rejuvenation strategies. Through this conceptualisation of port-of-entry neighbourhoods and the analysis of integrated cities, I intend to suggest an alternative planning approach to the simplistic rejuvenation strategies that have been repeatedly attempted in the past. Cognisant of the diverse livelihood strategies outlined in this chapter, one is able to produce strategies that rejuvenate the neighbourhood without it losing its intrinsic character or gentrification occurring.

The purpose of this chapter was to establish assessment and recommendation criteria from a review of the relevant literature. Succinctly summarised by tables 2.1 and 2.2 are the criteria for assessing current planning approaches and the port-of-entry conceptualisation respectively. These tables are included as a means of transition into the following sections and ultimately to build a foundation for achieving the third aim: to identify an alternative planning approach that is more cognisant of, and sensitive to, the often informality of migrants' everyday spatial and livelihood strategies. Succeeding this, an in depth case study requires construction in order to answer the primary and subsidiary research questions. This method shall accurately represent the rich qualitative data collected throughout the interview process. The following chapter shall outline the research methods and techniques employed to answer the aforementioned subsidiary research questions. This methodologies chapter shall delve into the reasoning for such research methods and portray a road map of this dissertation, culminating in policy suggestions for the Cape Town Metropolitan region.



<b>Overarching “Port-Of-Entry” Criteria</b>	<b>Assessment Criteria Derived from the Literature Review</b>	<b>Subsidiary Research Questions Derived From The Assessment Criteria</b>
<b>Informality</b>	Understanding ‘informality’ (in the broadest sense) as a characteristic of port-of-entry neighbourhoods	Can port-of-entry neighbourhoods exist without informality?
		What does tenure mean for asylum seekers? And, might tenure included a less formalised (legal and binding) understanding?
		How do different neighbourhoods (or nodes) within Cape Town accommodate informal economic activities (including small-scale and/or transnational trade activities)?
	Critically exploring local government rhetoric	Are port-of-entry neighbourhoods empirically associated with the ‘crime and grime’ and ‘squalor’ rhetoric that is often found in local government policies and/or assumptions?
<b>Transnational mobility and neighbourhood fluidity</b>	Exploring cross-border socio-economic mobility	Are there areas of Cape Town that exhibit spatial manifestations of transnational mobility? If so where are these areas?
	Exploring the idea of fluidity and ephemerality	Do asylum seekers view different neighbourhoods (or nodes) within Cape Town as temporary ‘launching pads’ to other destinations (whether locally, nationally, or internationally)?
<b>Landing Space</b>	The neighbourhood acts as the first port of call for many migrants to the city	Is there a specific neighbourhood in which newcomers ‘land’ and find their feet?
<b>Diversity</b>	Exploring the existence of complex and diverse socio-economic networks	Do asylum seekers rely on different and complex socio-economic networks to survive in Cape Town?
	Exploring the idea of inter-culturalism	How does the idea of inter-culturalism manifest within the Cape Town context?
<b>Social capital</b>	Exploring the spatial manifestation of social capital	How does social capital manifest within Cape Town’s urban fabric?
	Exploring the correlation between social integration and social capital	Is there a direct correlation between social integration and social capital?
	Understanding the expectations upon individuals by collectives	What are the expectations of individuals by a collective group? Are professional members of a collective group coerced into material provision for the rest of the group?

*Table 2.1 - Criteria for assessing the port-of-entry conceptualisation within the Cape Town context*

<b>Overarching Spatial Policy Assessment Criteria</b>	<b>Assessment Criteria Derived from the Literature Review</b>	<b>Subsidiary Research Questions Derived from the Assessment Criteria</b>
<b>Socio-spatial integration</b>	Promoting socio-spatial integration as opposed to the marginalisation of asylum seekers	Is the spatial marginalisation of migrants politically or ethnically motivated?
		How do local planning policies and practices address the socio-spatial integration of migrants?
<b>Diverse spatial and livelihood strategies</b>	Promoting diverse spatial and livelihood strategies (including informality)	How do local planning policies and practices accommodate diverse spatial and livelihood strategies (including informality)?
		How do different neighbourhoods (or nodes) within Cape Town accommodate diverse spatial and livelihood strategies (including informality)?
<b>Collaborative planning and the “Just City”</b>	Assessing collaborative planning	How are migrants included in local planning and decision making processes that impact on their everyday survival strategies?
	Exploring distributive justice	What does distributive justice mean for migrants?
	Promoting the Just City	How do local planning policies and practices promote the idea of a just city?
	Recognising cultural diversity as an integral policy informing notion	How is cultural diversity recognised in the City of Cape Town’s planning policies?

*Table 2.2 - Criteria for assessing the current planning approaches pertaining to refugees’ diverse spatial and livelihood strategies in Cape Town*

University of Cape Town



# 3

## METHODOLOGY



*The Migrant rich suburb of Parow  
(Photo by Moustafa Mandungu)*



### **3.1 INTRODUCTION**

In order to 'test' the relevance of a port-of-entry conceptualisation for Cape Town, and in order to gain deeper understandings of migrants' diverse spatial and livelihood strategies, this study necessitates the use of rich, in-depth, context-specific, and qualitative research methods and techniques. For these reasons, research findings are, predominantly, based on case study methods and techniques. Furthermore, case study methods and techniques provide answers to the primary and secondary research questions established in chapters 1 and 2 of this dissertation. This chapter therefore presents the case study methods and techniques selected for data collection, and it portrays the manner in which research findings are analysed and ordered.

The appropriateness of a case study approach for my research is justified while, simultaneously, acknowledging some of the limitations of this approach. I also discuss how research techniques of non-participant observations, semi-structured interviews, field photography, mapping, and policy analysis (via the use of discourse analysis) are used to collect and analyse data. To initiate these discussions, this chapter begins with some of the ethical considerations used to undertake my research, since it is imperative to highlight such considerations in order to make cognisant adjustments throughout the research process.

### **3.2 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS**

Sikes and Piper (2008) maintain that researchers must conduct themselves, and their research, in such a way as to prevent harm to research participants. This is an imperative consideration when conducting research within migrant communities, since such research requires ethical sensitivity. As aforementioned, primary research findings are collected through qualitative, in-depth and semi-structured interviews with migrants within the Cape Town context. This section addresses the predicted complexities and ethical considerations of the study.

Complexities in gaining consent from research participants are the first ethical considerations of my study. Gaining consent necessitates culturally appropriate procedures (Mackenzie et al. 2007). Accordingly, participants need to be fully aware of, and adequately informed about, the research aims, processes, methods, potential risks, and benefits of the research (Mackenzie et al. 2007). During my research, it is imperative that these factors are understood and agreed upon in order for participants to be included within the entire research process (namely, from the initial phase of the project to the writing-up phase). Through detailed verbal explanations, and an explanatory consent form, research participants are thoroughly informed of the aforementioned research process.

The second ethical consideration entails the methods used to access research participants. As the primary (and only) researcher, I am currently teaching at a prominent English School for migrants in Cape Town, namely the Scalabrini Refugee Centre. This teaching role enables access to participants from a range of backgrounds who are currently living and working in various geographic locations within the

Cape Town metropolitan region. However, the potential for a perceived coercion to participate in my research needs to be addressed and prevented at all costs. As I am responsible for teaching and grading members of my class, a power dynamic exists. In order to mitigate this dynamic, I shall make it explicitly clear throughout the consent process that class members' involvement in my research project is an entirely voluntary involvement that has nothing to do with their involvement in the English-language course that I facilitate at the Centre.

Furthermore, I will conduct all of the interviews myself, thus negating the potential power structure that may arise when using translators or research representatives. Rodgers (2004) argues for the importance of small-scale, qualitative approaches generated through "intensive, informal and interpersonal interactions between researchers and the forced migrants" (Cited in Mackenzie et al. 2007: 315). A contributing technique to this qualitative approach is the aptly termed a 'hanging out' technique. Rodgers (2004) maintains that simply 'hanging out' with research participants is indispensable when collecting qualitative data in the diverse worlds that migrants inhabit. I will also make use of rich participant observations, as well as field observations, in order to establish how research participants relate to each other and how they navigate the urban context. Ultimately, interviews, 'hanging out' experiences, and observations all enable deeper and more nuanced understandings of migrants' everyday realities and livelihood strategies.

Validating the authenticity of the data collected is another tool that contributes to an increase in knowledge regarding migrants in Cape Town (Chadderton, 2011). The validation of their stories occurred during the 'hangout sessions' that took place outside of the interview process. I also forged friendships with research participants during the process of learning about their stories and their settlement patterns. The researcher and research participants were thus treated as equals throughout the research process (Macaulay et al, 1999).

The principal of *respect for persons* was also embraced throughout the research process. Ethical relationships between research participants and myself were held as an absolute priority throughout the process. I also allowed participants the option of being anonymous in order to safeguard them from harm, coercion and exploitation. Unethical research, even if conducted with the intention of aiding participants, may disempower, exploit and endanger the very people a research project intends to help (Mackenzie et al. 2007).

### **3.3 RESEARCH METHODS**

This section outlines the processes that were followed to gather the data. The choice of research methods and the consequent research techniques were ultimately informed by the research question. These were also informed by the desire to describe and understand the Cape Town context from migrants' different standpoints. The case study method was chosen as an appropriate medium to convey the richness and depth required by the primary and secondary research questions.



### 3.3.1 ADVANCING KNOWLEDGE THROUGH CASE STUDIES

This dissertation seeks to frame the research within a situated context by ‘testing’ the relevance of one theoretical conceptualisation of place, and by gaining deeper understandings of migrants’ diverse spatial and livelihood strategies within that place. In order to depict the conformity or uniqueness of a place, a case study method is required, as it embodies a fine-grained and a more intricate research method. Accordingly, Flyvbjerg (2011: 301) defines a case study as “an intensive analysis of an individual unit (as a person or community) stressing developmental factors in relation to environment”. One of the strengths of the case study method is its ability to gain an in-depth understanding of social realities in order to represent the meanings that individual actors bring to those settings and manufacture in them (Chadderton, 2011). It is for these reasons that the case study method is used in this research. As individual stories are interwoven, a better picture of how migrants negotiate and navigate Cape Town emerges.

The case study is a necessary and sufficient method for certain important research tasks in the social sciences, and it is a method that holds up well compared to other methods in the gamut of social science research methodology  
(Bent Flyvbjerg, 2006: 241)

Flyvbjerg (2006) maintains that planning (and by extension, social science research) is problem-driven rather than methodology-driven. As such, drawing on case study methods may address context-specific research questions and problems. Context-dependent knowledge and experience are at the very heart of expert activity and professional workings (Flyvbjerg, 2006). Kuhn (1987) also maintains that a discipline without a large number of thoroughly executed case studies is a discipline without a systematic production of examples. A discipline without thorough examples is thus an ineffective one (Kuhn, 1987; cited in Flyvbjerg, 2006). Abercrombie et al (1984, cited in Flyvbjerg, 2006: 220) argued that the case study is the “detailed examination of a single example of a class of phenomena”. It can achieve a thick description of a phenomenon in order to provide an understanding of social realities as they are subjectively perceived, experienced, and created by participants (Geertz, 1973). Within a rapidly changing climate of urbanisation, a thorough case study of the Cape Town metropolitan region stands to add to this literature. A case study is a necessary and sufficient method for certain important research tasks.

A further benefit of the case study is its ability to conform and morph according to its context. This means that throughout the process of constructing the case study, I am able to alter and tweak methodologies once a greater understanding of the context is gained. Being able to tweak the research approach, leads to a more appropriate research process. Throughout the process new understandings of phenomena shape the research process. An example of this is the interview process in which storytelling became important. I thus adjusted my interview style accordingly. Qualitative case studies utilise emergent design, which is an adaptive quality within the research process, enabling the case to progressively focus upon significant themes and criterion within the data (Mabry, 2010; George and Bennett 2005). Emergent design shall be addressed again in the techniques section as it a predominant feature within the semi-structured interview process. Rather than being prescriptive, the case study method allows for research to evolve over time, allowing for important themes to emerge and gather significance

progressively as the research is conducted. At this juncture, I must define the spatial parameters of the case study as it ultimately informs the methodologies used.

### 3.3.2 CAPE TOWN: THE CASE STUDY AREA

In order to test the port-of-entry conceptualisation, the entire metropolitan area of Cape Town is selected as the case study for this research (see figure 3.1). This case study area includes all the regions and neighbourhoods under the jurisdiction of the City of Cape Town in which their spatial development framework (SDF), and subsequent spatial policies, apply. As this research focuses on the spatial context of Cape Town, research findings might not necessarily be generalised to other urban contexts within South Africa. Nevertheless, this research aims to highlight the ways in which local authorities implement spatial policies, and the outcomes of these policies, since planning processes and outcomes are, ultimately, governed by national policy in the unitary system of governance found in South Africa (Harrison, et. al. 2008).

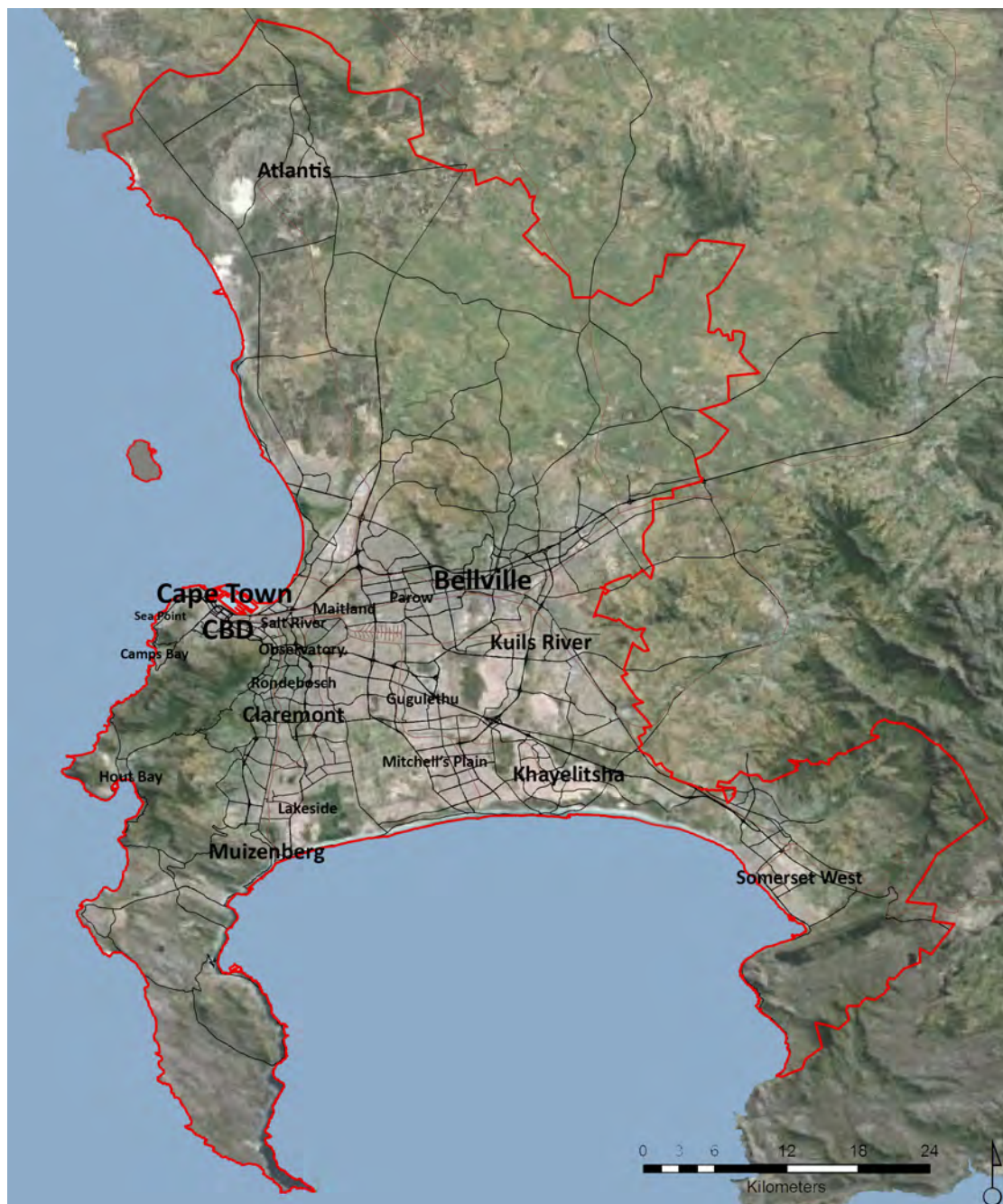


Figure 3.1 - The case study area, The City of Cape Town municipal area  
(Source: NGI and CoCT)

### 3.4 LIMITATIONS

A commonly held limitation of the case study method is that one cannot generalise the findings. As Anthony Giddens (1984: 328) upholds:

Traditional, small-scale community research findings are not, in themselves, generalizable. But they can easily become so if carried out in some numbers, so that judgments of their typicality can justifiably be made.

I however argue, similarly to Flyvbjerg (2006), that it is incorrect to conclude that one cannot generalise from a single case. It depends entirely upon the case one is speaking of, and how it is chosen. From my Cape Town case study, I may be able to generalise about migrants' processes of navigating the city by drawing out general lessons from the research findings than from the research findings themselves (Platt 1992; Ragin and Becker 1992).

Flyvbjerg (2011) claims that those doing intensive case study research often report that their preconceived views, assumptions, concepts, and hypothesis were wrong and that the case study material has compelled them to revise their hypothesis on essential points. This said, in testing the theory on port-of-entry neighbourhoods, there is potential for bias towards confirming this hypothesis. I shall be aware of this and make appropriate adjustments to counter manifestations of biases. This tendency to confirm preconceived notions implies the method has little scientific value. Bias is not however limited to case study research, but is rather understood to be a fundamental human characteristic. Rigour in case study research comes from the falsification of preconceived ideas rather than their verification (Flyvbjerg 2011: 309).

During the undertaking of a case study, it is equally important that the researcher focuses on learning about the community, rather than merely attempting to 'prove' the validity of various hypotheses regarding the community. Flyvbjerg (2006) maintains that if the researcher spends time in the community, simply observing and absorbing information, they will be sure to encounter new and very relevant information that could shape the entire research process. It is of course, "the characteristics of the method [that] are usually more suited to expansionist than reductionist pursuits" (Stake, 1978: 7). Cognisant of these limitations the following section outlines the techniques utilised throughout the process.

### 3.5 RESEARCH TECHNIQUES

This section discusses the research techniques and strategies that are utilised in this research. As a means of constructing a rich case study, there are a number of techniques employed during the data collection process. Participant and field observations are the initial research methods I use to inform the latter stages of data collection, thereby adding to the appropriateness and sensitivity of the entire process.

As a teacher at Scalabrini Refugee Centre, I have observed migrants in Cape Town for six months. Throughout this six month period I established a level of trust and respect with many migrants studying



there. Through general conversations I gained substantial insights into the livelihood strategies of migrants within the city.

Accordingly, the interview process is used to gain further insights into these strategies, forming a rich and fine-grained case study. The bulk of the data is collected through in-depth and semi-structured interviews in order to explore migrants' diverse spatial strategies within the city. I am conducting fifteen interviews with migrants (both refugees and asylum seekers) from around the city. Whilst the majority of the interviews are conducted at the Scalabrini Refugee Centre, a number of them are conducted elsewhere with participants not linked to the institution. This means that a more balanced participant group is utilised, one that was not prone to biases associated with the educational institution (for example most individuals at Scalabrini are ambitious and view English as a steppingstone to further integration). The use of field photography throughout the process is another technique I shall qualify in this section. Policy analysis, via a discourse analysis, is utilised in order to answer the subsidiary research questions regarding policies and their cognisance of diverse migrants' spatial and livelihood patterns.

### **3.5.1 PARTICIPANT AND FIELD OBSERVATION**

As mentioned, the point of departure for the research is participant and field observation. This entails submersing myself into the migrant communities, both socially and geographically, so that I am able to pick up upon main discourse themes before the rich qualitative data has even been collected. This pre-emptive technique is extremely useful in informing the questions asked and the direction of the interview process. Kluckhorn (1940: 4; cited in Cooper et al, 2004) defines participant observation as,

The conscious and systematic sharing, in so far as circumstances permit, in the life activities, and on occasions in the interests and effects of a group of persons.

The technique of 'hanging out' in the area is also utilised as an observation tool (Gerring, 2004). A vast amount of information can be harvested by simply walking the streets of certain neighbourhoods to gain first-hand experiences of areas. This information is recorded in a field notebook and through photographs. The on-going participant observation process has highlighted a number of neighbourhoods in which field observations are required. The Voortrekker Road Corridor (from Bellville to Maitland), Woodstock, Salt River and the Foreshore are all areas in which I am 'hanging out' and observing their unique *genius loci*. By using field observations, I become an "outside observer" and am able to provide a different perspective on the case study (Babbie and Mouton, 2001: 293).

Participant observations are conducted through a similar process of hanging out (Gerring, 2004). The on-going participant observations at the Scalabrini Refugee Centre have resulted in a mutual respect and friendship forming between many of my research participants. This respect has resulted in a level of understanding and trust between individuals and myself. Subsequently, this has enabled me to ask conversational-type questions, as opposed to more structured questions, and to probe certain themes with different members of Cape Town's migrant communities. These encounters allow for the individual semi-structured interviews to be tailored to the case study.

### 3.5.2 INDIVIDUAL SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS

The validity of a great deal of what we believe to be true about human beings, hinges on the viability of the interview as a methodological strategy  
(Briggs, 1986: 1)

Semi-structured interviews are conducted with migrants living throughout Cape Town. These interviews seek to establish the nature and social construction of each migrant-rich neighbourhood. It is from these interviews that the existence of port-of-entry neighbourhoods can be established and mapped. The aim of the interviews is to provide a deep, detailed and nuanced understanding of the Cape Town metropolitan region in terms of migrant settlement patterns. In light of this aim, the people I chose to interview are picked because of the group they represented and the nuanced understanding they have of the case. As the term migrant encompasses a huge scope of displaced people I intended to interview a least one person from the largest migrant groups represented in the region, these being: Somalian, Congolese (DRC), Congolese (Congo), Mozambique and Zimbabwean.

The different nationalities these actors represent ensure that a deep understanding of the case will be gained. These interviews are recorded by an iPad, thus allowing me the freedom to participate in the interview as well as ensuring quality throughout the transcribing process. Observations are also added, on a daily basis, to those recorded in my field diary. Once these interviews are completed they are transcribed. These transcriptions will bring into focus the characteristics of the spoken discourse and enable me to ascertain comparable criteria to those highlighted within the literature (Jaworski and Coupland, 1999). Research findings are also mapped.

Owing to the time restraints of this project, it will not be possible to conduct more than fifteen interviews. As a means of obtaining the fine-grained detailed data required when undertaking a case study on migrants and their livelihood strategies, the technique of storytelling is utilised. I agree with Sandercock (2003b) as she argues that,

...stories and storytelling are central to planning practice, that in fact we can think about planning as performed story. We have seen stories working as, and in, planning processes, where the ability to tell, to listen to, and to invent stories is being nurtured as well as the equally important ability to create/design the spaces for stories to be heard. When stories work as catalysts for change, it is partly by inspirational example, and partly by shaping a new imagination of alternatives.

(Extract, Sandercock 2003b:26)

Stories are thus a vital component of data collection throughout this research process. It is through stories that I am able to understand the nuances of migrants' diverse spatial and livelihood strategies. Migrants' stories are often laden with emotion and difficulty. Whilst maintaining sensitivity to this, I am able to probe participants' experiences regarding their difficult journeys towards integration into society.

Throughout the interview process I tailored the interviews according to what participants wanted to tell me. Storytelling became the starting point of the interview in which I ask participant to tell me how they arrived in Cape Town and discuss their experiences upon arrival. This process enabled me to gain insights into migrants' lives and integration techniques and enabled me to test this emerging case study against the criteria discussed in chapter two.

Such storytelling exercises are crucial in multi-cultural and multi-ethnic planning processes as they best exhume the intricacies of people's journeys and livelihood strategies. In order to maintain the informative and powerful nature of stories I use quotes from these stories within chapter 4. I argue that such quotes depict the authenticity of migrants' voice and struggles, and it adds to the richness of the case study. Throughout the process I acquired participants' permission to use their name and details. This adds to the richness of the case study.

A critique of the interview process is hearing what one wants to and missing the underlying meaning of the statement. "We hear what is intended, but miss what is important" (Forester 1989: 108). This limitation is overcome by the semi-structured interview technique, which allows space and flexibility within the interview. It is for this reason that these interviews will be invaluable to the research process.

### **3.5.3 FIELD PHOTOGRAPHY**

As a means of further understanding the spatial and livelihood strategies of migrants throughout Cape Town, I equipped many participants with disposable cameras. The directive I gave to them was to take seven photos of whatever they saw in their everyday lives. This technique is used as a means of spatialising their stories. It also provides a visual perspective of their living, working and travelling conditions. Furthermore these photos enable participants to explain their situations through a medium unimpaired by language barriers. Participants were also equipped with a map and asked to map where their photos were taken, ultimately aiding in the spatialisation of their stories. Migrants in Cape Town being predominantly Francophone and Somali speaking often struggle to articulate their stories. The practice of taking photographs enables participants to express themselves using a different medium. Although some participants are apprehensive to take photos of their personal space I explicitly explain that the process is entirely voluntary and that the photos need not be of their personal space but rather other elements of their lives. The field photography cameras are disposable film cameras which I shall develop once the photos have been taken. The grainy and noisy visual nature of film photography adds to the construction of the case study. This dissertation will be furnished with these photographs, visualising the diverse, colourful and often unorthodox nature of migrant communities in Cape Town.

### **3.5.4 POLICY ANALYSIS**

Cape Town's spatial policy is examined via a discourse analysis of its cognisance towards migrants' diverse spatial and livelihood strategies. This research examines the stance of the government regarding specific migrant-rich neighbourhoods. Within the literature review presented in chapter 2, a section was devoted to the current marginalisation of migrants within South Africa. Marginalisation is exacerbated by national policy. With the aid of policy analysis regarding certain areas of Cape Town



this research is able to answer the subsidiary research questions regarding an alternative planning approach that is cognisant of migrants in Cape Town. This research examines interventions in migrant-rich neighbourhoods and, combined with the interviews, examines their efficacy and effectiveness.

### 3.6 DATA ANALYSIS

So far this chapter has established the benefit of the case study method and the use of techniques to develop a narrative regarding the spatial strategies of migrants in Cape Town. This section establishes the approach used to analyse research findings, and to bring meaning to the collected data.

Throughout the observation and interview process a particular discourse with particular themes is emerging. These themes are: migrants' struggles in realising their rights; the diversity within migrant livelihood strategies; the clear lack of cognisance of such strategies; an emerging spatial pattern of migrant communities; the desire for integration and economic opportunity; the desire for well-located affordable housing. It is through analysis of this discourse that meaning is produced and circulated; subjects are formed; people are regulated; and reality is established. As these themes are presenting themselves the technique of sorting the data is required in order to test the case study against the criteria defined in chapter two. Babbie and Mouton (2001: 500) define this sorting or selective coding as:

The process of selecting a core category, systematically relating it to other categories, validating those relationships, and filling in categories that need further refinement and development

As a means of comparison, core categories or common threads from each interview are identified and assessed against the criterion established in chapter 2 of the dissertation. This sorting of criteria allows for an exploration of the existence of a port-of-entry neighbourhood within Cape Town. These criteria are: landing spaces; informality; transnational mobility and neighbourhood fluidity; diversity; and social capital. For the subsequent testing of Cape Town's spatial policy the criteria are: socio-spatial integration; diverse spatial and livelihood strategies; collaborative planning and the "Just City". The data is subsequently sorted into categories relating to the aforementioned criteria. Evaluative interpretations of the data shall ascribe meaning to the effectiveness of governmental policies regarding migrant-rich neighbourhoods. This will draw correlations between spatial intervention and the spatial patterns of migrants. Correlations will be used to map research findings and to chart an alternative planning process cognisant of these patterns. It is also imperative to carefully assess (through an analysis of the interviews) whether different national groups believe that certain neighbourhoods in Cape Town are more conducive to permanent settling as this has repercussions for long-term planning policy.

### 3.7 CONCLUSION

This chapter outlines the research method and techniques used to collect research findings for my study. The importance of storytelling within research is categorically and succinctly expressed through a case study. A case study allows for the richness and depth that this study requires in order to accurately analyse the spatial representation of migrant livelihoods within Cape Town. Research conducted with migrants requires sensitivity, a respect for diversity, and the adoption of an ethical approach to research, as migrants are among the most marginalised group of residents within society.

Participant and field observation is the point of departure regarding research techniques. These observations inform the latter techniques and give the researcher a handle on the discourse and the primary themes substantiated later during the interview process. The interview process comprises fifteen semi-structured interviews in which storytelling is encouraged and mediated. This interview style ensures fluidity and flexibility, ultimately ensuring the richness of the data. The use of cameras in the field is also used to gain a deeper and finer-grained understanding of the diversity within migrants' diverse spatial and livelihood strategies.

Appendix E outlines the subsidiary research questions that the interviews intend to answer. These questions will in part be answered through the storytelling process and part answered through later probing of the aforementioned assessment criteria such as landing space and informality. A discourse analysis of the City of Cape Town's Spatial Development Framework (MSDF) and the Western Cape Government's Provincial Spatial Development Framework (PSDF) is also required within the case study as a means of ensuring a holistic case study is constructed. Research findings are then coded and analysed based on criteria established from the literature review (see Chapter 2).

Designing a research methodology is a complex process that requires a prior understanding of the field. Research within migrant communities, especially those who have migrated due to a genuine fear for their lives, requires a great deal of sensitivity. Outlined in this chapter is the research design I deem most strategic in answering the main and subsidiary research questions, as well as most appropriate towards participants. In understanding the literature (see chapter 2) and starting the research process with observations I am able to conduct meaningful, rich and appropriate research. The following chapter will systematically present the findings and analysis of this research.

University of Cape Town



# 4

## FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS



*Genevieve Ndaya at home in Parklands where she lives with her brother and his family  
(Photo by Mr. Ndaya)*



## **4.1 INTRODUCTION**

This chapter provides a presentation and analysis of the research findings. It explores how the everyday needs, practices, and livelihood strategies of migrants are accommodated in the City of Cape Town's (and in the Provincial Government's) spatial policies. As a means of analysis, assessment criteria developed in chapter 2 are used to evaluate the existence of port-of-entry neighbourhoods within Cape Town, and to evaluate local spatial policies. Research findings portray the first hand experiences of migrants within the Cape Town context and allow new insights into the manifestations of spatial policies and their sensitivity to the often unorthodox nature of migrants' everyday existence. Research findings presented in this chapter also serve as the foundation for establishing suitable policies and other spatial planning recommendations, which, in turn, are presented in chapter 5. The assessment criteria used in this chapter relate the main theoretical arguments discussed in chapters 2 and 3.

Accordingly, this chapter commences with an overview of the case study area and its history regarding migrant communities. It contextualises the contemporary marginalisation of migrant communities within Cape Town. Thereafter, it explores the validity of the port-of-entry conceptualisation within Cape Town, by critically assessing this theoretical conceptualisation against criteria such as: informality, 'landing' spaces, transnational mobility, neighbourhood fluidity, diversity, and social capital. Subsequently, an analysis of the spatial policy affecting Cape Town shall be conducted based upon the following criteria: socio-spatial integration, diverse spatial and livelihood strategies in migrant communities, collaborative planning, and the just city principles. These two analytical undertakings are intrinsically conceded, as spatial policies are inevitably linked to actual places and spatial outcomes. Moreover, such analytical undertakings result in a more nuanced and holistic case study analysis from which policy suggestions can be derived.

## **4.2 CAPE TOWN: CASE STUDY**

### **4.2.1 HISTORICAL CONTEXT**

Since the fall of Apartheid and the dawn of democracy in 1994 there has been a monumental shift in immigration policy. As discussed in Chapter 2, the legislation shifted from notions of 'Aliens' and 'Illegals' to protecting and granting substantive rights to all persons who reside legally within the borders of South Africa. This has resulted in a dramatic influx of asylum seekers and refugees into the urban areas of South Africa. As of January 2013, a total of 65,233 refugees and 230,442 asylum seekers resided in South Africa (UNHCR,2013). Specific Cape Town statistics have yet to be calculated. Appendix B portrays the total number of Western Cape residents born outside of South Africa as 256,053 people. This statistic accounts for permanent residents as well as South African citizens born abroad, thus it is not an accurate portrayal of migration into the province. According to the City of Cape Town 19.5 percent of Cape Town's non-Western Cape native population are from outside of South Africa, but this statistic is also prone to the same bias' as the previous (Appendix C). These statistic do, however, portray a large amount of foreign individuals within the city, displaying diversity within the populous. Cape Town is recognised as one of the major destinations for asylum seekers and refugees, along with Johannesburg, Pretoria and, to a lesser extent, Durban. According to the Department of Home Affairs in Cape Town, the majority of African migrants come from Somalia, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Zimbabwe, Congo

(Brazzaville), Rwanda, Burundi and Angola.

As is the case in Johannesburg, there are some neighbourhoods within Cape Town that are perceived by municipal officials as ‘migrant neighbourhoods’. Such neighbourhoods include, for example, Mowbray, Woodstock, Salt River, Sea Point, Maitland, Parow, Bellville, Muizenburg (See figure 4.1). In reality there is a far greater number of migrant rich neighbourhoods (Figure 4.2 depicts such neighbourhoods).<sup>1</sup> As demonstrated by figures 4.1 and 4.2 there exists a stark difference between perceived migrant



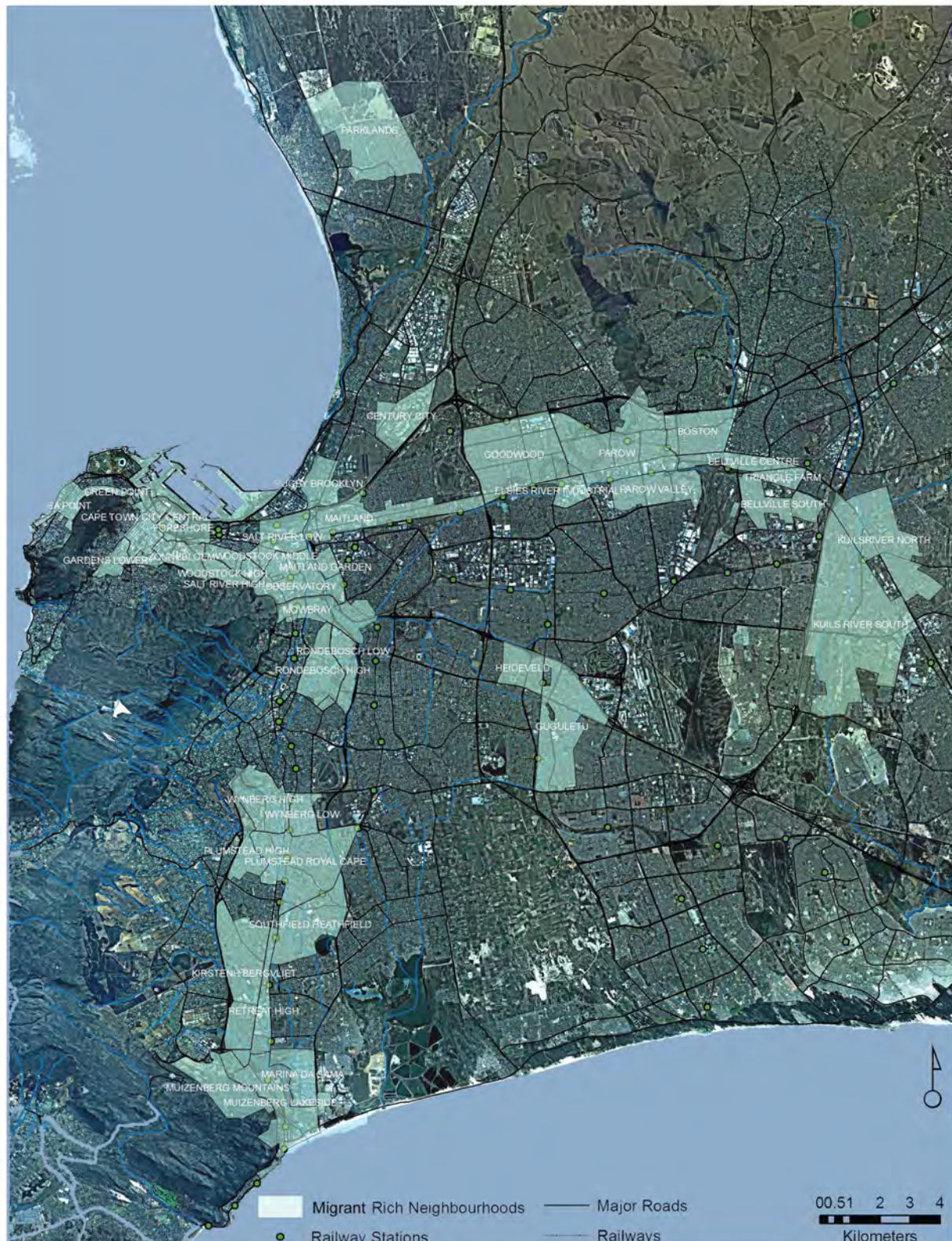
Figure 4.1 - Perceived migrant rich neighbourhoods  
(Source: NGI and CoCT)

<sup>1</sup> I present this research finding now as it informs the later findings and allows the reader to spatialise the extent of migrant settlement patterns within the case study area.



neighbourhoods and actual migrant rich neighbourhood. In reality Cape Town's migrant spatial pattern is further reaching and appears to develop in a bilinear fashion.

Migrant rich neighbourhoods are also perceived by municipal officials as spaces of crime and grime, and informal living. This case study research seeks to explore the validity of these perceptions by testing the port-of-entry conceptualisation. Findings, in turn, shape my responses to these perceptions in terms of spatial policy.



*Figure 4.2 - Actual migrant rich neighbourhoods  
(Source: NGI and CoCT)*



#### 4.2.2 MIGRANTS IN CAPE TOWN: THE STATUS QUO

The main Department of Home Affairs office, which is located in Cape Town's Foreshore, is severely backlogged, and officials are currently refusing to accept or process first time asylum seeker and refugee applications. According to Braam Hanekom, the founder of People Against Suffering, Oppression and Poverty (PASSOP), deportations are occurring regularly (Cape Argus, 29 May 2013). The Department of Home Affairs is chartering planes to deport Congolese back to Kinshasa, while busses are used to take arrested illegal migrants from Pollsmoor Prison to Lindela Repatriation Centre in Krugersdorp, Johannesburg (ibid.). However, Hanekom maintains that these deportation tactics "do little to halt the flow" of refugees and asylum seekers into Cape Town's urban fabric (ibid.). Rather, most of the individuals who are deported tend to return to Cape Town, since Hanekom has met many individuals who "have been deported a dozen times" (ibid.).

In June of 2012, the Department of Home Affairs was ordered to close Cape Town's Maitland Refugee Office, because local business owners took the DoHA to court and successfully petitioned that the presence of so many refugees constituted a 'public nuisance' that was a 'detriment' their businesses. The Maitland Refugee Centre closed, and the DoHA stipulated that all services rendered, except the application for new asylum documents, would take place at Customs House (in the Foreshore). New applicants were therefore to be redirected to other Refugee Reception Offices, primarily in Pretoria or to the Messina Refugee Offices. This redirection of new applications was deemed by many as an infringement on the rights of migrants arriving in Cape Town, as many could not afford to return to Pretoria or Messina to process their papers. The Scalabrini Refugee Centre, the institution that I am involved in, agreed with migrants' concerns, and subsequently took the DoHA to court.

On the 13th of March 2013, the Western Cape High Court deemed the decision to close the Cape Town Refugee Reception Office to new applications as unlawful. The judgment directed the Department to open and maintain a fully functional refugee reception office in the Cape Town municipality by 1 July 2013 to provide services to asylum seekers and refugees, including new asylum applicants (Scalabrini Press Release, 2013). This being the case the DoHA has lodged an appeal with the Supreme Court of Appeal (SCA) and has stated that it refuses to implement these court orders while delaying the matter in appeals (Scalabrini Press Release, 2013). This entire process has deemed thousands of migrants in the Cape Town region unable to access the system and become officially and legally recognised within South Africa. This has many damaging consequences for migrants, and society alike.

As will become apparent throughout the research analysis, the uncertainty regarding document renewal is a difficult and stressful task often resulting in migrants feeling ostracised and unaccepted. The current backlog and refusal to accept new applications has resulted in long queues outside Customs House. Over the past six months there have been numerous media reports of migrants clashing with police and a number of abuse claims against the DoHA (Cape Argus, 28 May 2013; Cape Times, 31 May 2013). This highlights the sentiment, as discussed in chapter 2, of how asylum seekers and refugees are denied rights that are afforded by the South African Constitution. The denial of rights, in turn, have spatial, as well as other, consequences. At this juncture we must turn to some of these spatial consequences by exploring the idea of 'port-of-entry' neighbourhoods.

## 4.3 TESTING THE PORT-OF-ENTRY CONCEPTUALISATION

The assessment criteria for testing the port-of entry conceptualisation include: 'Landing' space, Informality; Diversity; Transnational Mobility and Neighbourhood Fluidity; and Social Capital. Research findings are assessed in accordance with these criteria.

### 4.3.1 LANDING SPACE

Port-of-entry neighbourhoods are, as their name implies, 'landing' spaces for newcomers to the city. As described in chapter 2 they are neighbourhoods that augment the process of integration for many migrants in the city. In order to test the existence of a port-of-entry neighbourhood within Cape Town one has to establish where migrants first 'land' in Cape Town, which is intrinsically linked to newcomers establishment.

Research participants were first asked about their story and how they started life in Cape Town. For many, the first few months were the hardest. These were months of great struggle to integrate socially, spatially and economically.

The first few days in Cape Town were quite complicated. I stayed under the bridge [in the Foreshore], which is no place for anyone... right there by Home Affairs because I didn't know where to go. So after two days, luckily, I bumped into somebody who spoke the same language as me and that person directed me to some other friends, who took me to Home Affairs, and from Home Affairs we went to a refugee forum [an NGO] and they gave us a place to stay in Gugulethu, where I stayed about eighteen months.

(Interview 1, Olivier Teddy, a refugee from DRC, 7th August 2013)

...I came from Zimbabwe in 2008. When I came here I came to [stay with] my friend but when I got here we didn't see each other. So when I got here I had no place to go and I ended up crashing at Home Affairs in Cape Town... in the Foreshore. I had to sleep outside. There were about 1000 different people, foreigners from different regions. Life was tough. As for me I learnt a lot and experienced a lot of things when I was there. We were sleeping there and when we woke up in the morning we would go to get something to put on the table. Sometimes we would get nothing, other times we would get a few coins, which we could use to buy food. We would sleep hungry. Then wake up tomorrow and go look for something again. Sometimes you'd find other time you wouldn't. Life was up and down. From there I started doing some studies through some friends...

(Interview 15, Prince Tarausai, an asylum seeker from Zimbabwe, 27th August 2013)



As demonstrated by both Prince and Olivier a popular landing space for migrants is outside the DoHA offices in the Foreshore of Cape Town (see pictures 4.1 and 4.2). Around the 2008 xenophobic attacks migrants created a living environment under the elevated highways. This community fluctuated greatly as most viewed it as purely a landing space, after which they moved to formal residential areas around Cape Town. This community has subsequently been displaced as the City of Cape Town did not want such a strategic area of the city converting into a small informal settlement. This has resulted in informal living occurring more prominently in areas such as Maitland, Parow and Bellville. Apparent in the research is the social capital that was generated in this Foreshore space. Prince Tarausai maintains that newcomers were constantly interacting with other migrants at the DoHA offices in the hope of finding a kinsman that would allow them to stay at their residence. Although the Foreshore appeared to be a general landing space, it is apparent that it only served as a landing space to newcomers with no contacts within the city. It appeared to be a last resort for newcomers attempting to integrate. As the DoHA have stopped processing newcomer applications at Customs House, it no longer acts as such a magnet for newcomers in the city. There is greater draw for newcomers to migrant rich neighbourhoods in which many of their kinsmen reside.

If a newcomer to the city has a relative or friend living in the city, they often allow them to stay in their apartment or house for the first few months, to allow them time to integrate (demonstrated by



*Picture 4.1 & 4.2 - Under the 'Bridge' outside Customs House in the Foreshore  
- a previously migrant occupied space (Photo by the Author)*

picture 4.3). Evident in the research was a tension that arises if a newcomer fails to integrate and start financially contributing to the living environment in which he or she is staying. This has in some cases led to newcomers being thrown out of the house in which they were staying and moving back into a difficult living situation such as living under a bridge in the city or living in an informal housing situation with many other migrants.

Evident in the research is the changing nature of landing spaces within Cape Town. Under the foreshore elevated highways were the primary landing spaces for newcomers in the city who had little existing social capital. With the change in the services rendered by the DoHA and City of Cape Town moving squatters out of the area there has been a shift in landing space in the city. Evident within the research is the role of language in determining landing spaces. The shift from the foreshore landing space is becoming segregated as Francophones are tending to land in Maitland and Parow, where as Somalis are landing in Bellville as local taxi and truck drivers know that Bellville hosts most of Cape Town's Somali population. The port-of-entry neighbourhood conceptualisation portrayed landing spaces as neighbourhoods that were renowned for containing large amounts of migrants, in which newcomers could land and begin their journey of integration. Evident in Cape Town is the emerging nature of Cape Town's landing spaces appearing primarily in Maitland, Parow and Belville. We must now examine the second key criterion of the port-of-entry conceptualisation, informality.



*Picture 4.3 - A typical landing space for Francophones in Cape Town  
- Parow Apartments (Photo by Moustafa Mandungu)*

### 4.3.2 INFORMALITY

As argued by Roy (2005, 2009), informality is often viewed by municipal officials as an 'epidemic' that negatively affects the urban fabric of cities. Moreover, for cities to grow and become 'world class', this informality must be 'eradicated' through formalisation. Roy rejects this neo-liberal stance and further argues that informality is often an integral part of certain neighbourhoods. Attempts to formalise such areas in cities, such as in Mumbai, have resulted in a splintered and fragmented urbanism (Roy, 2005). As an intrinsic criterion of port-of-entry neighbourhoods, informality occurs in different forms and is not easily recognisable.

The first manifestation of informality within the Cape Town case study is that of informal rental schemes and informal housing tenure. Rent-a-bed and rent-a-room informal rental schemes are common in Woodstock, Brooklyn, Salt River, Maitland, Parow and Bellville. Figure 4.3 depicts neighbourhoods in which residential informality manifests.

...most of the time [they are] in Woodstock, some were quite hectic. In Roberts Road, there's a two bedroomed house, with almost eighteen guys...More than eighteen, we can say, because all over the floor there were tiny pieces of beds. You'll find two guys sleeping on a single bed and I stayed there. It was very crowded. I think, also, that it helped us to be lazy, because there was no one looking to go places when everyone stays in. We distracted each other. Life didn't get any easier because when it was cold no one wanted to go out there to find something. We all felt comfortable. The rent was very cheap, so people could contribute one hundred bucks or fifty, whatever they could find. So it wasn't tight at the end of the month so no one came to kick us out. Although, if we failed to pay definitely would have been kicked out. It was a mission. Whatever we found we just cared for ourselves. So some days we didn't have anything to eat, even a loaf of bread was a mission. So we'd spend nights hungry, until somebody feels like he is going to die and go out and find something to eat...there still are a load of places like this. Right now I know a few places like this where I go and see friends and try to encourage people to get out there. There are still plenty of places like that...Other places too; I've been to Maitland with same situations, Brooklyn with similar situations. All over. It's not going to change because it's getting more crowded. More people are coming down. It's not like things have changed...

(Interview 1, Oliver Teddy, a Refugee from DRC, 7th August 2013)

This manifestation of informality is often perpetuated by migrants themselves. For example, Moustafa Mandungu, an asylum seeker from the DRC, earns money from renting out houses (Interview 13, 22nd August 2013). He subsidises his income by signing the lease on two apartments and rents out the rooms of both individually. As Moustafa has a regular income he is able to sign the formal lease agreement on apartments as his credit check is 'clean'. He then rents the rooms of the apartments out and makes a profit on the rental. This is a common practice and although it is often practiced against stipulations of the lease it enables a second income for many migrants. Another critical factor of this so-called informality is the access it grants to newcomers of to the city. For newcomers whom have little in the way of credit history or financial backing gaining approval on lease agreements is an impossible task.





Figure 4.3 - Neighbourhoods exhibiting migrant residential informality  
(Source: NGI and CoCT)



Backyard shack rental is another manifestation of informal tenure utilised by migrants within the city. A number of migrants living in Kuils River live in backyard shacks within RDP-style neighbourhoods. As these backyard shacks or house extensions are done so illegally no legal lease agreements are drawn up and all that is required is an agreement on rental cost and electricity sharing. Gedeon Tshumbu, an asylum seeker from DRC, outlined his reasons for living in a backyard:

...by the township, I live there because it's cheap. They [his employers] pay me little money, they pay me R200 I give them [his landlords] R100, if they give me R2000 I'll give them R1000 and electricity R200. In Parow it's cheaper [than other places], maybe R1800. We share homes there. But in Kuils River I'm on my own with my son only... I like being on my own.

(Interview 10, Gedeon Tshumbu, an asylum seeker from DRC, 20th August 2013)

The second significant manifestation of informality is that of informal income generation. The second economy, or the informal economy, plays a large role in the diverse livelihood strategies of migrants within the Cape Town region (spatially depicted in figure 4.4). Documented throughout the case study was the tendency for migrants to pursue informal income generation streams. Although entitled to partake in formal employment<sup>2</sup>, many migrants are employed in informal jobs such as security guards and street trading. The informal economy is cash-based, and it is a livelihood strategy as there is little need for formal bank accounts or contracts, aiding their often-transient natured livelihood patterns. Female migrants often partake in informal or roadside hair salons, clothing and textile repair companies and day-care jobs. Often migrants partake in such activities and generate an income before maintaining the correct asylum seeker papers. Deeming their activities illegal, as they do not hold permits allowing them to earn an income before their asylum papers have been processed. This again emphasises the essential role of the informal economy for refugees and asylum seekers in Cape Town.

It is clear from the research that informality exists in many forms throughout the Cape Town case study. Figure 4.3 indicates that there is not a single neighbourhood or adjacent set of neighbourhoods that lend themselves to informal residential tenure. There do appear to be certain strategic areas becoming more appealing for migrants in which informal tenure is prevalent. These are located along the Voortrekker Road Corridor, containing Bellville, Parow, Goodwood, Kensington and Maitland, as well as Salt River and Woodstock. Whilst this does not portray the single neighbourhood port-of-entry nature of informality there is an emerging spatial pattern of migrant informal living along this linear corridor. There are many points of informal economic opportunity that present themselves throughout the Cape Town metropolitan region. Market traders and roadside stalls are common throughout Cape Town and appear in areas of high footfall such as around train stations, taxi ranks and bus stations most notably: Mitchell's Plain, Bellville, Parow, Maitland Train Station and Parliament Street, Saint Georges Mall, Cape Town Central Station and the Grand Parade in the CBD. Car and security guard jobs are dispersed throughout the Cape Town but are common in nodes of retail or commercial space such as malls around the city. Due to their nature these jobs are dispersed throughout the city and many research participants travel away from their neighbourhood of residence to get to work. The second economy plays an absolutely

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<sup>2</sup> Migrants holding Asylum or Refugee papers (a section 22 or 24 permit) are granted the right to formal employment by the Refugee Act No 130 of 1998.



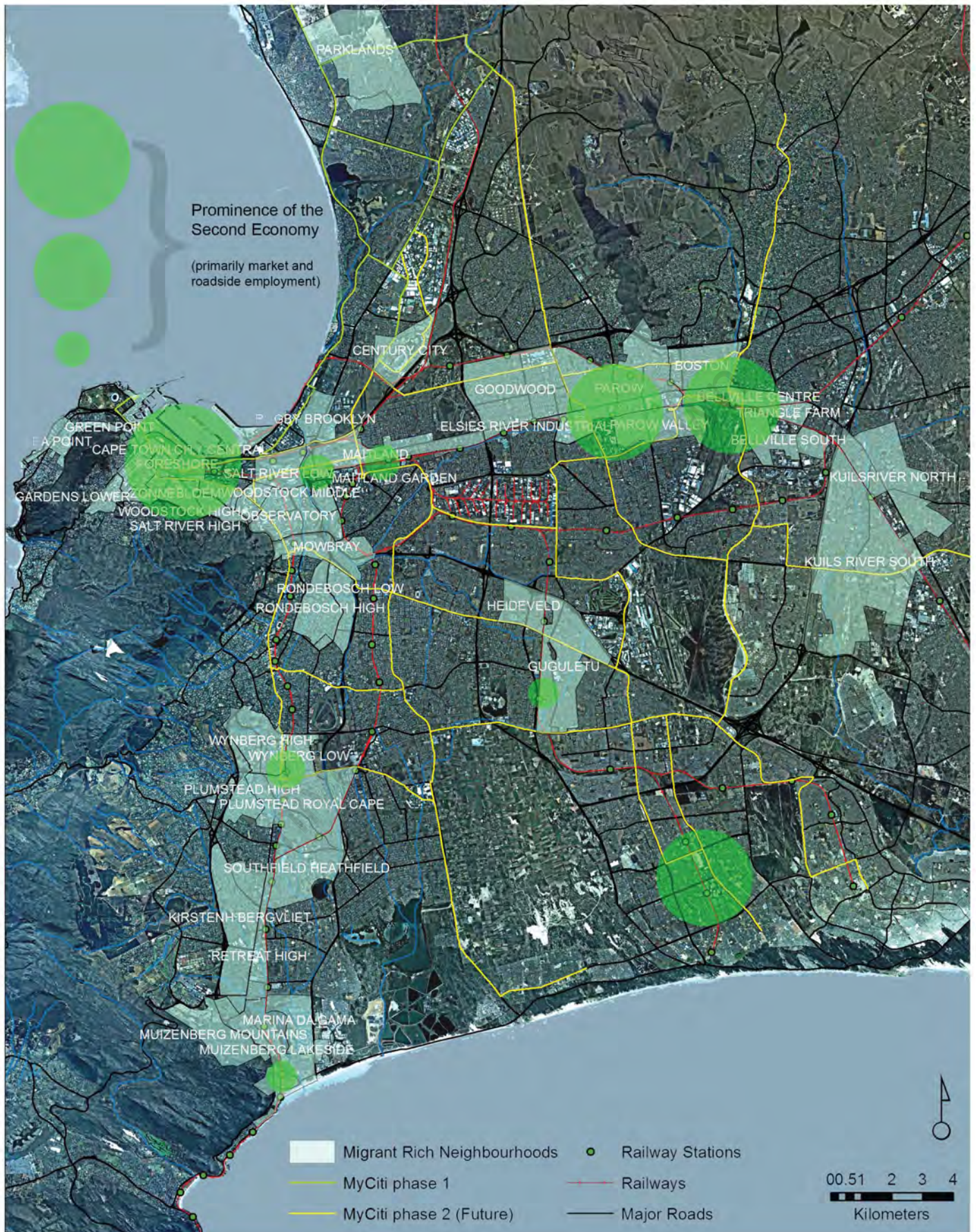


Figure 4.4 - Migrant rich neighbourhoods in relation to manifestation of the second economy  
(Source: NGI and CoCT)



vital role in the economic integration of migrants within Cape Town.

Throughout the research it is evident that the permanence of individuals is defined by their access to formal employment. When asked how long participants wanted to stay in Cape Town, a large majority stipulated that it depended on whether they were able to find a good job. Most participants maintained that if they were unable to obtain suitable employment in the city they would be happy to move on to another city or country in search of economic opportunities. This non-permanent nature, enabled largely by the often-informal nature of migrants' livelihood patterns, leads to the following criterion of transnational mobility and neighbourhood fluidity.



*Picture 4.4 - Informal accommodation in Maitland, an old industrial warehouse  
(Photo by Messi Kasongo)*





*Picture 4.5 The Grand Parade market, a key informal employment space  
(Photo by the Author)*



*Picture 4.6 - The corner of Buitenkant and Darling Streets, near Cape Town's central station, is a popular spot for informal construction workers to be picked up and dropped off (notice workers climbing into the construction vehicle)  
(Photo by the Author)*



### 4.3.3 TRANSNATIONAL MOBILITY AND NEIGHBOURHOOD FLUIDITY

As portrayed in the literature review transnationalism and fluidity are defining characteristics of port-of-entry neighbourhoods (Winkler, 2012). They are neighbourhoods in which residents are able to develop livelihood strategies in more than one country at once (Simone, 2001). Transnational mobility speaks not only to this phenomenon (which Simone (2001) defines as simultaneous embeddedness) but also speaks to notions of capital flow and economic networks. Migrant economic networks play a large role in the second economy in South Africa and Cape Town specifically.

The first manifestation of this transnational economic flow appears in Bellville and, to a lesser extent, Parow (evident in figure 4.5). These are areas associated with Somalian economic networks and enterprises. Many Somalian businesses and shop owners across the city buy their goods from wholesale retailers located in Bellville. Abdirahman 'Ibrahim' Sheikhis, a refugee from Somalia, is a shop co-owner in Paarl. He commutes to Bellville weekly by private vehicle in order to buy product to sell at his shop. When he first arrived in Cape Town he stayed for a few nights in Bellville whilst he waited for a relative to come and fetch him. Essentially, Bellville acts as an anchor space for transnational trade. Although the majority of the wholesalers in Bellville are Somali-owned other migrant groups make use of them as well. Congolese, Zimbabwean, Ethiopian and other street traders purchase their goods from these wholesalers in Bellville.

Chinese-run wholesale and retail shops are prominent in the Voortrekker Road Corridor and are, like Somali-run wholesalers, utilised by the same informal trader networks in the city. There are other areas of Cape Town in which a single wholesale shop has opened and supported a small-scale migrant economic network, yet Bellville and Parow are the only places in which an entire transnational economic node has occurred. This node has occurred with such intensity due to a number of factors. Firstly Bellville and Parow are strategically located in terms of imported goods. They are located on the N1 highway, northern train line to Johannesburg and are in close proximity to Cape Town's port complex. Secondly these neighbourhoods host a large number of migrant residents and boast rich social and economic networks because of this. Thirdly, as degrading middle income areas there is a tangibly weak enforcement of by-laws and zoning regulation which not only reduces rental prices but allows for flexibility, such as transgression of zoning stipulations, required by the informal economic. This flexibility responds to market demand and means that businesses often partake in a number of activities, often in breach of their lease agreement. Figure 4.5 depicts this spatial pattern and emphasises the importance of these adjacent neighbourhoods straddling the northern city rail line.



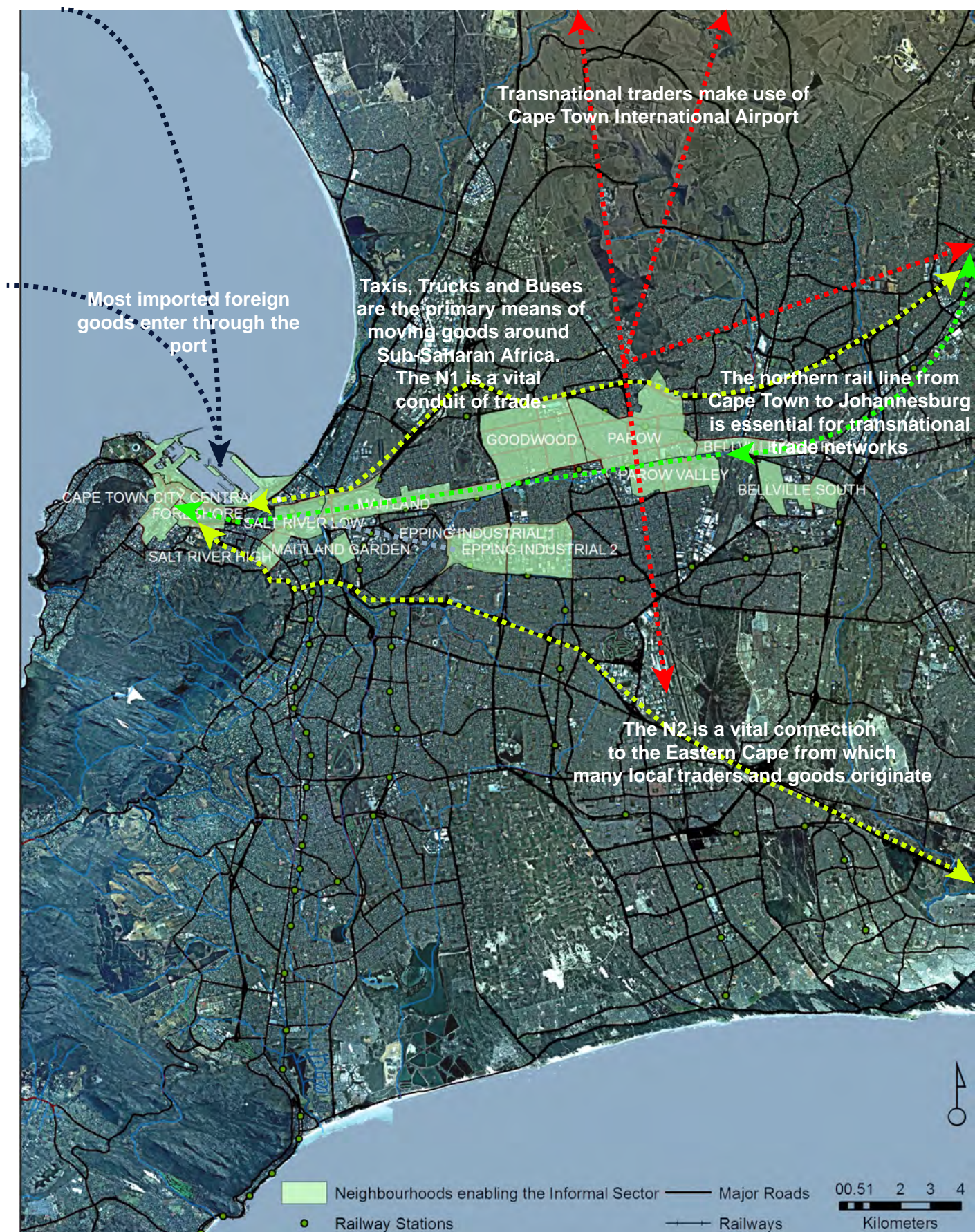


Figure 4.5 - Spatialisation of transnational economic networks. Notice the strategic location of Maitland, Parow and Bellville in terms of transnational trade networks (Source: NGI and CoCT)



The second manifestation of this criterion is the prominence of neighbourhood fluidity. Simone (2011) maintains that hyper-fluidity is a defining characteristic of port-of-entry neighbourhoods. Depicted in figure 4.2 is the large amount of migrant rich neighbourhoods throughout the city. It is clear that migrants, once settled, move to the most socially and economically strategic area of the city for them. This means that there is a heightened fluidity in migrant rich areas in which newcomers start integrating. Many of the migrants upon arrival stay with friends or family for a few months then, upon finding an income stream, move out. This decreases the degree of permanence and heightens the fluidity within such migrant rich neighbourhoods. As Gedeon Tshumbu from DRC explains,

...when I first came to Cape Town, I stayed in Parow for maybe two years. But last month I moved to Kuils River. [I've been in] Kuils River only one month.

(Interview 10, Gedeon Tshumbu, an Asylum Seeker from DRC, 20th August 2013)

Among the research participants there were mixed opinions regarding the level of their permanence within South Africa. For most their permanence relied entirely on finding economic opportunity in Cape Town, yet many desired to go back to their country of origin. Ibrahim, for example, when asked when he would like to go back to Somalia retorted,

Soon! As soon as possible. Even now a lot of my friends have gone back. But they have nothing to do there. They can't go where they want. They can't get jobs there.

(Interview 7, Abdirahman Ibrahim Sheikh, a Refugee from Somalia, 15th August 2013)

Cumulatively these factors have resulted in certain neighbourhoods being neighbourhoods of hyper-fluidity. Unlike the port-of-entry conceptualisation (see chapter 2), rather than a single neighbourhood, fluidity manifests in three migrant rich neighbourhoods in Cape Town: Bellville, Parow and Maitland. This suggests that residents tend not to invest, whether emotionally or economically, in such neighbourhoods due to their transience. From a planning standpoint this means that public participation and active resident engagement would be difficult to facilitate. These mobility networks act as a vital foundation for much of the informal employment across Cape Town and thus cannot be undermined by planning processes. There are many ramifications of this fluidity at a neighbourhood scale regarding the role of planning and citizenship, which shall be discussed in chapter 5 of this dissertation.

Transnational mobility and neighbourhood fluidity are criteria of the port-of-entry conceptualisation that manifest within the Cape Town case study. These criteria do not manifest in a single neighbourhood alone. Bellville and Parow are the key economic neighbourhoods of transnational trade and the informal economy. Woodstock, Salt River and Maitland all exhibit hyper-fluid characteristics due to the extremely transient nature of their residents. As Bellville, Parow and Salt River are emerging landing spaces in Cape Town, this fluidity will intensify with migrants landing and then moving to other areas in order to augment their economic and social integration. These neighbourhoods also exhibit the characteristic of diversity. This diversity speaks to notions of cultural, ethnic and social diversity as shall be discussed in the following section.



*Picture 4.7 - Parow's Station Street market is a large informal sector employment hub  
(Photo by Moustafa Mandungu)*



*Picture 4.8 - A small Chinese import oriented businesses along Voortrekker Road in Maitland  
(Photo by Guy Cyanga)*



#### 4.3.4 DIVERSITY

Cape Town has, since 1994, become a destination space for a large number of asylum seekers and refugees originating from Sub-Saharan Africa, as well as other areas of conflict or affliction such as Somalia, Sudan and Ethiopia. Abu-Lughod (1994) argues that port-of-entry neighbourhoods never exhibit a single cultural typology. These neighbourhoods are traditionally 'cauldrons' of diversity, which results in constantly fluctuating networks of cooperation and conflict (Abu-Lughod, 1994). These networks of cooperation and conflict play a large role in the dynamic *genius loci* of certain neighbourhoods. The *genius loci* of such neighbourhoods is a dynamic one in which multicultural diversity is particularly tangible. Within Cape Town there are a number of neighbourhoods which exhibit a rich and diverse *genius loci* (see figure 4.6). Their unique *genius loci* results from tangible cultural practices resulting from great diversity within their resident groups. It is particularly apparent that migrants tend to group together based around language and communication. This grouping is evident spatially and socially as many migrants maintain that they were afforded the opportunity to live where they do by a kinsman or person of similar language. Francophones within Cape Town are often found living in community with one another as French is the communicable language despite members being different nationalities and perhaps speaking different first languages, such as Lingala, Swahili or Kikongo. Other common languages that lead to community grouping are Somali, Portuguese and English.

Diversity is apparent throughout many neighbourhoods of Cape Town. There are very few migrant neighbourhoods in which only one national or ethnic group live. For example Messi Kasongo, an Angolan national from Kinshasa DRC states,

...I like staying in Maitland, because it's easy to go to work. I just go to Maitland Station, change at the Salt River station and then go to Wynberg. I wouldn't stay somewhere that wasn't easy to get to work.

**Are there a lot of people from Kinshasa living in Maitland?**

I don't think so they are from all over. Not just Congolese either: Brazzaville, Angolans Xhosas and Zimbabweans....

(Interview 5, Messi Kasongo, an asylum seeker from Angola, 13th August 2013)

This diversity can be attributed to a number of factors. Firstly, these diverse communities are grouped in low rental yet geographically well-located areas in terms of employment commute times. This also speaks to factors such as informality, transnational mobility and neighbourhood fluidity, which have been previously addressed. When asked about the cultural diversity of Mowbray, Oliver Teddy's neighbourhood, he stated,

Yea I live in a four-bedroomed house but we are lucky to have the granny flat, but in the main house there is a couple from Zimbabwean a couple from Malawi and another guy from Congo. You'll never stay on your own because the rent is very, very high. So [when] you need a place you have to share it. If you are thinking about home, the future and your children you have to share to keep the rent down.



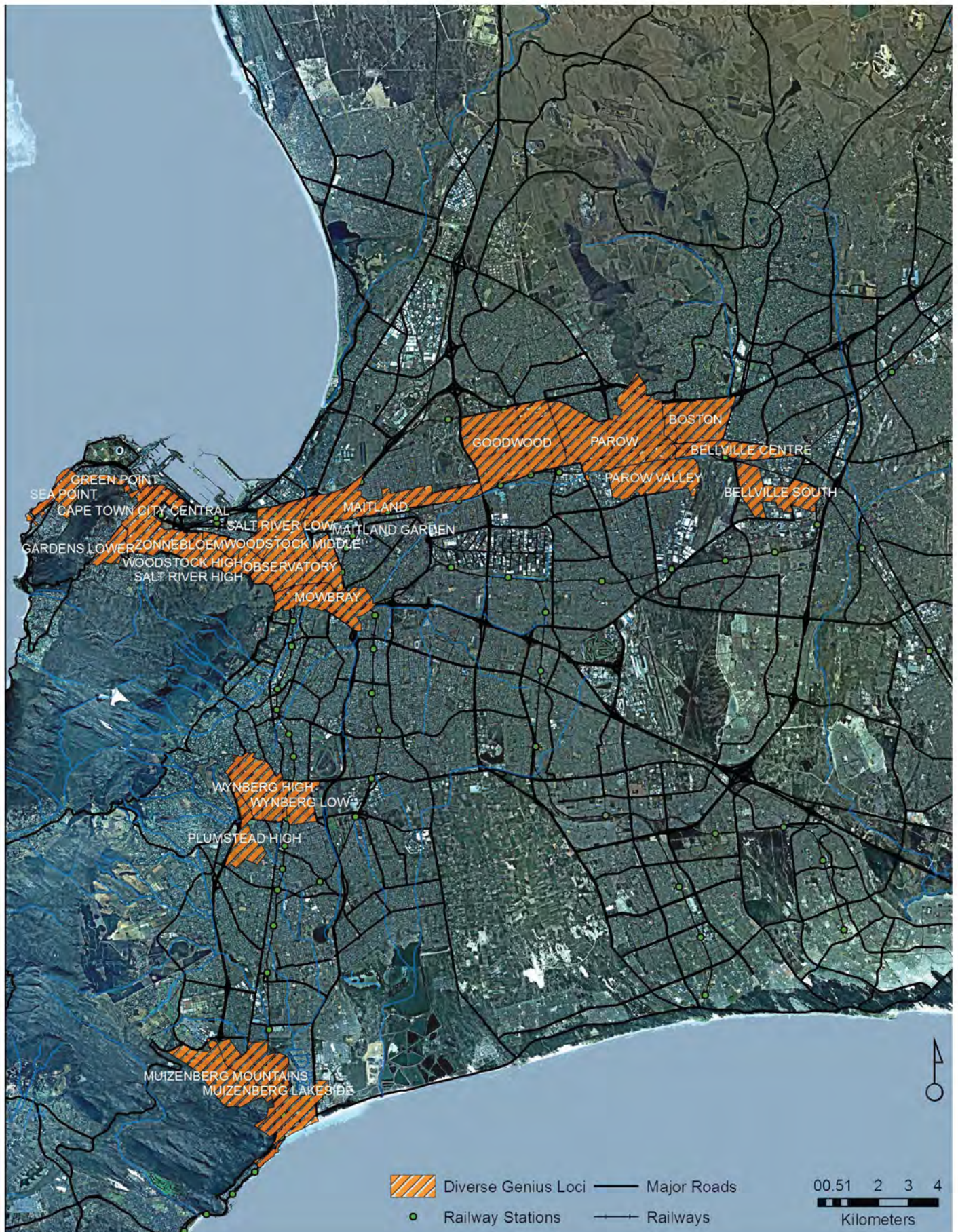


Figure 4.6 - Neighbourhoods that exhibit dynamic and rich multicultural Genius Loci  
(Source: NGI and CoCT)



### **Surely there are places in Cape Town where the rent is low enough?**

Yea there are but you have to find a place where you feel comfortable. Sometimes you are lucky and you find a place that is cheap and comfortable. Usually when it is cheap it's uncomfortable, usually you have to squeeze in your bed and you always have to keep everything locked. It's not like you have to leave something on the ground and come back to find something there. Brooklyn and Maitland are cheaper than where I live but for me they are less convenient because the line goes straight to Woodstock. The line goes straight from Maitland to Woodstock.

(Interview 1, Oliver Teddy, a Refugee from the DRC, 7th August 2013)

Xenophobic sentiment and previous xenophobic violence is a marginal factor to consider when discussing migrant grouping and neighbourhood diversity. A large number of asylum seekers and refugees have arrived in South Africa and Cape Town since the 2008 xenophobic attacks and although they may experience occasional xenophobic sentiment, this does not drive migrants to group together due to fear. In most of the diverse migrant neighbourhoods there are a large numbers of South African citizens who are often subjects of previous Apartheid marginalisation. For example there are a number of Xhosa people, predominantly from the Eastern Cape, living alongside migrants in Cape Town's migrant rich neighbourhoods, such as Woodstock, Maitland, Salt River and Muizenberg.

Diversity manifests spatially within Cape Town and is particularly prominent in the old middle class suburbs which straddle the established rail infrastructure within the city. Figure 4.7 depicts Cape Town's neighbourhoods colour-coded relating to socioeconomic standing. This information is vitally important when assessing emerging migrant spatial pattern within Cape Town. When figure 4.2 and figure 4.7 are compared it is evident that migrant-rich neighbourhoods exist within neighbourhoods with fairly mid-range socioeconomic status index (S.E.S.) scores. These neighbourhoods have S.E.S. scores between 13.86 and 37.13. These figures are calculated using four indicators, namely: Percentage of households earning less than R19 200 per annum; percentage of adults (20+) with highest educational level less than matric; percentage of the economically active population that was unemployed; and percentage of the labour force employed in elementary/unskilled occupations (CoCT, 2007; CoCT, 2006). Based on these indicators it is accurate to classify these neighbours as middle-income. This correlates to the Stats SA data (depicted in Appendix D) which portrays the clear established middle-income areas of Cape Town in a bilinear pattern straddling the rail infrastructure.

This emerging spatial pattern supports aspects of a port-of-entry conceptualisation, The most diverse neighbourhood, Maitland, appears to have a dynamic *genius loci* particularly influenced by the older established coloured community and the increasing migrant population group. Clear at this juncture is the emerging nature of this migrant spatial pattern and the role of the neighbourhoods along the Voortrekker Road Corridor, particularly Maitland, Parow and Bellville in supporting migrant networks and encouraging diversity.



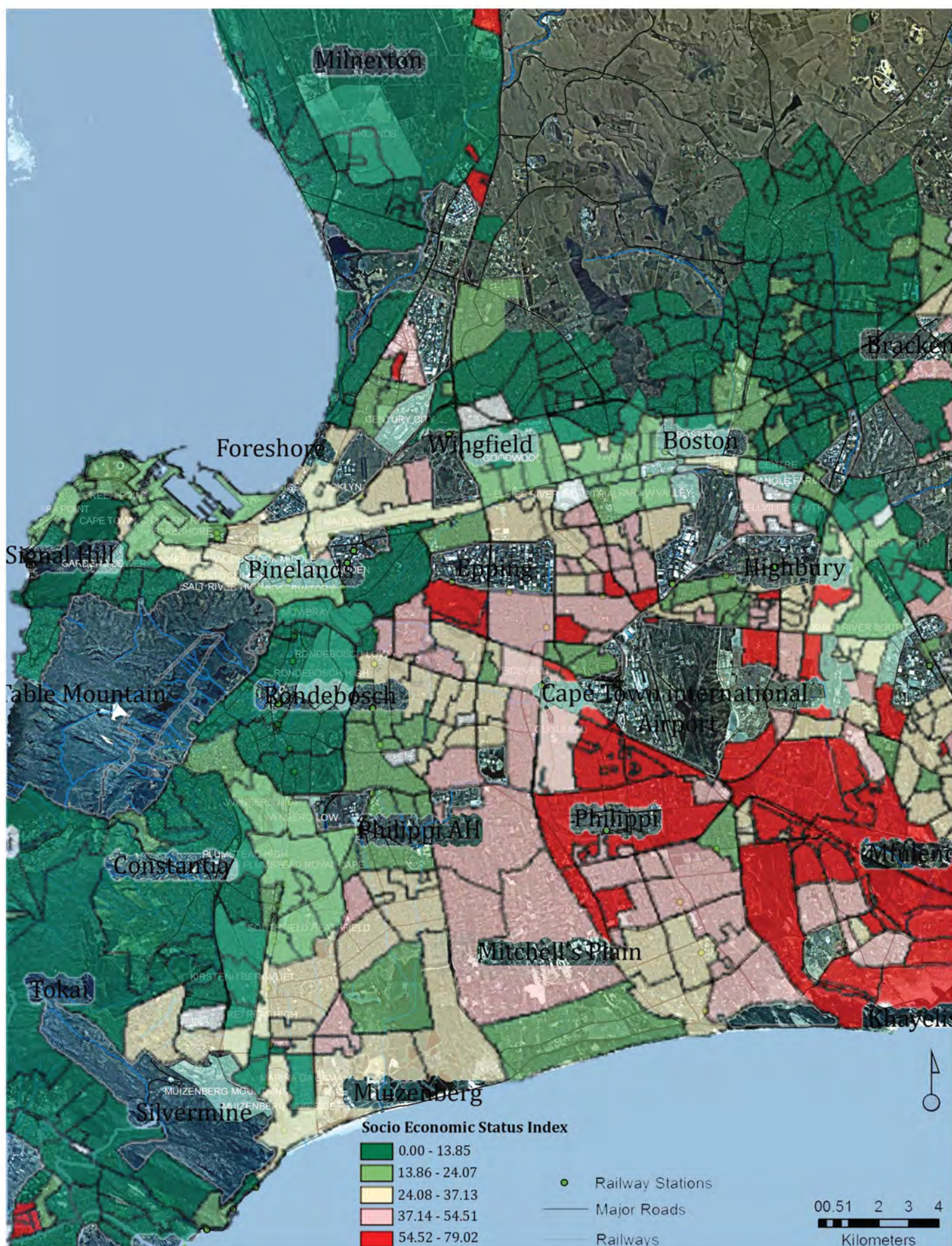


Figure 4.7 - Cape Town's suburbs by socioeconomic status  
(Source: NGI and CoCT)



#### 4.3.5 SOCIAL CAPITAL

Port-of-entry neighbourhoods by their very nature are areas in which newcomers to the city 'land' and find their feet (Winkler, 2012). The process of finding their feet requires that they generate social capital in order to fully integrate both socially and economically. Coleman (1988: 98) defines social capital as, "a variety of entities with two characteristics in common; they all consist of some aspect of social structure and they facilitate actions within their structure". Portes and Julia Sensenbrenner (1993: 1323) expand upon Coleman's early definition of social capital by defining it as "those expectations or actions within a collectivity that affect the economic goals and goal-seeking behaviour of its members, even if these expectations are not orientated toward the economic sphere". The testing of the social capital criterion will enable us to fully comprehend the extent of migrant livelihood strategies within the city.

The concept of social capital succinctly explains the process of integration of an migrant into a host society provided that social capital is generated in an integrating fashion, not merely within migrant collectives . In Cape Town social capital and the generation thereof manifests in many different spaces throughout the city. Newcomers to the city face the challenges of integration which include making friends, networking, finding places to live and people to live with, getting a job, applying for asylum seeker status and in many cases learning English (the language of commerce). Guy Cyanga describes his first few months upon arriving in Cape Town,

...I stayed at home and after one week my brother explained to me the problem of papers and everything I must do. He told me I must have a student permit or a refugee photo stamp and then in my passport I'll get a visiting visa. Then I said, "What can I do now?" They [the DoHA] said that I must return to my country and get a student visa. I said to them that I didn't have enough money to go back to my country and then come back here. They said that I must have that paper [in order to study]. So I said fine what can I do in Cape Town without that paper? Ok I can go first to Scalabrini [to learn English] and to Home Affairs and explain everything. (Interview 6, Guy Cyanga , an Asylum Seeker from DRC, 13th August 2013)

According to the research, many migrants have contacts in Cape Town, family or friends, prior to leaving their country of origin. Noticeable in Guy's story was his ability to take advantage of his brother's established social capital in his journey of integration. In some cases migrants have little in the way of contacts or social capital when they first get to the city. Ibrahim's story depicts his very first moments in Cape Town and how he started to network and generate social capital,

...we come in the trucks or in taxis and we don't know where we must go. They [the drivers] know that most of the Somalian people stay in Bellville and they drop you there. If you have a [telephone] number or not, the first Somalian you see, if he sees that you are a new person he will come to you and ask if you have any family in South Africa. If you say yes he will ask you the number and call it. If you don't have any people there in Bellville, he will take you to the first restaurant and pay for you to stay in a hotel. Even if you don't have any family he will try and help you if you are a good person.

(Interview 7, Abdirahman Ibrahim Sheikh, a refugee from Somalia, 15th August 2013)



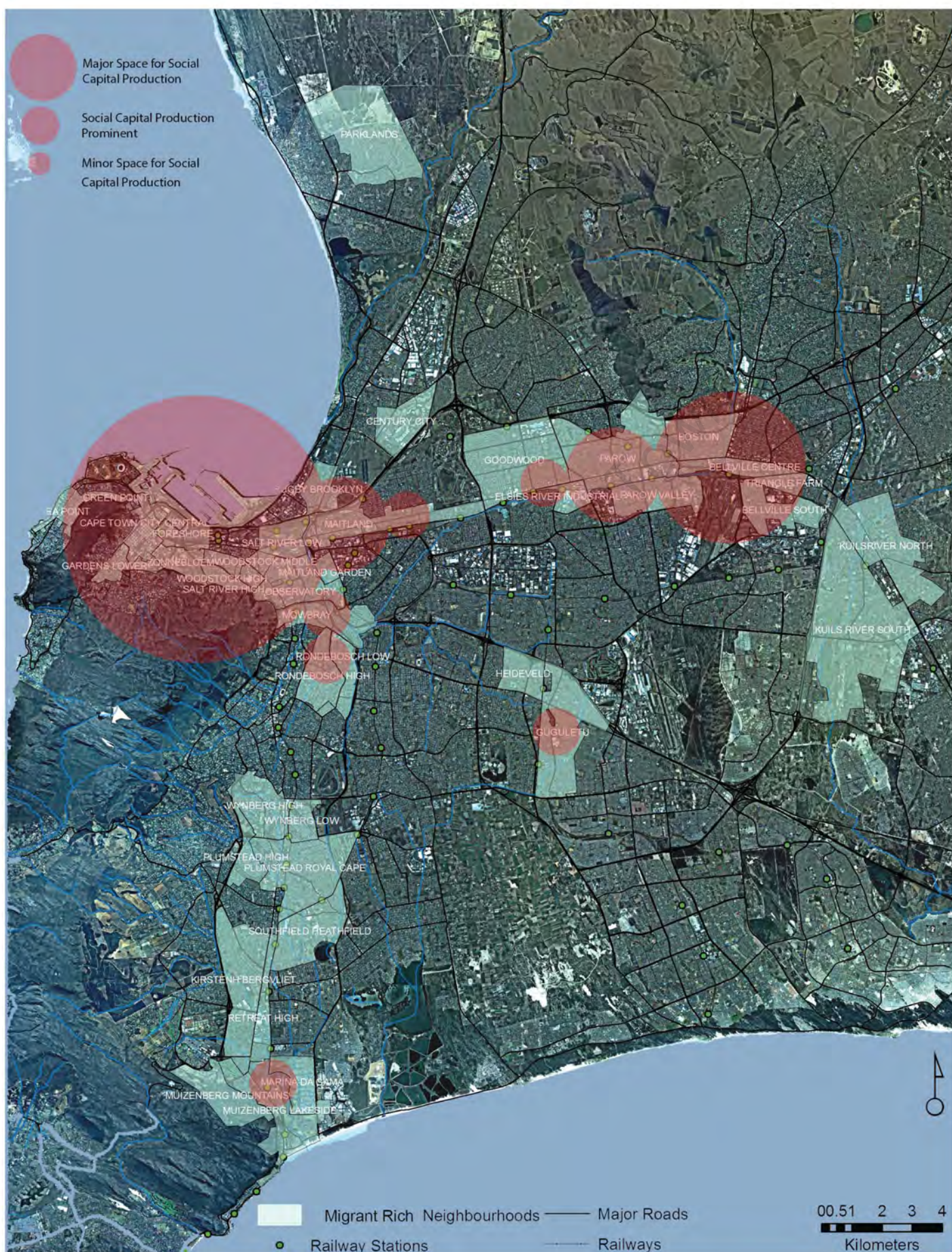


Figure 4.8 - Migrant's social capital production within Cape Town  
(Source: NGI and CoCT)



On a neighbourhood scale, the research indicates certain areas are more beneficial to newcomers in terms of ability to generate social capital. Language is a very important factor to consider when discussing access to entry and ability to integrate. Language is perhaps the largest barrier to integration that migrants face. As previously discussed, the language spoken by newcomers often determines the neighbourhood in which they 'land'. Likewise the spatial location of social capital generation is intrinsically linked to language with certain neighbourhoods favouring the integration of certain nationalities. As Prince describes,

You know when you hear people speaking English you can tell they are from Zim[babwe]. You can pick it up in their accent. You also can communicate with each other in your home language and you realise where they are from. Sometimes you just ask them where they are from and then you realise. Then you have common ground.

(Interview 15, Prince Tarausai, an Asylum Seeker from Zimbabwe, 27th August 2013)

Many Congolese choose to live, or 'land', in Parow and Maitland as there is a large existing Congolese community in both of these neighbourhoods. This is also true of the Somali community who 'land' in Bellville as there are a large number of Somali speakers who are able to aid these individuals in their journeys of integration. This spatial grouping around a common language aids in an individual's integration into a collectivity. It is through these prominent migrant rich neighbourhoods that newcomers are able to generate social capital and become members of migrant communities. As individuals generate social capital and find an income stream they become settled within their community and often fail to integrate fully into society. A number of participants alluded to this danger and stressed that learning English and gaining further education was a way in which an individual could integrate further into society and will heighten their chances of accessing higher earning employment opportunities.

The emerging spatial pattern of migrants' livelihood strategies is linked to generation of their social capital. Depicted in figure 4.8 is the spatialised pattern of migrant social capital generation. The large amount of generation in the CBD relates to the DoHA's Customs House. This is depicted as the most important as it is often where newcomers end up and at such an early stage of integration they are generating the most amount of social capital. Other main areas of generation are Maitland, Parow and Bellville. Noticeable in this figure is the link between social capital and the emerging migrant spatial pattern of the city. The Cape Town case study portrays migrant social capital generation manifestations being spatially located based on language spoken. Francophone migrants generally live and generate social capital along the Voortrekker Road Corridor from Woodstock to Parow, whilst Somali speakers tend to collect around Bellville and Parow, also located on the Voortrekker Road Corridor. The growing importance of the Voortrekker Road Corridor is evident.

This section has tested the port-of-entry conceptualisation in Cape Town. This conceptualisation holds within Cape Town and is supported by the emerging migrant spatial pattern in the city and the growing importance of Maitland, Parow and Bellville (the three main neighbourhoods within the Voortrekker Road Corridor). This section has depicted migrants' diverse spatial and livelihood strategies within Cape Town. We must now turn to Cape Town's planning literature and test its cognisance of such strategies.

## 4.4 ASSESSING CAPE TOWN SPATIAL POLICY

In chapter 2 of this dissertation a number of criteria regarding assessing the suitability of Cape Town's spatial policies were charted. These criteria include: socio-spatial integration, diverse spatial and livelihood strategies in migrant communities and lastly collaborative planning and the 'Just City'. Spatial policies in Cape Town will be tested against these criteria in order to assess their cognisance of the diverse migrant livelihood strategies that were presented in the previous section.

### 4.4.1 SOCIO-SPATIAL INTEGRATION

Migrants are spatially, socially and politically marginalised in Cape Town. As South Africa is one of the only countries on the continent that actively promotes refugee and asylum seeker integration in to urban areas, there have been a number of shortfalls regarding the realisation of rights afforded to these migrants. The implicit intention of the Refugees Act [130 of 1998] (RSA, 1998) is that refugee groupings will, "simply assimilate into South African life and will be able to access services as any South African does" (Palmary, 2002: 1). This Act, as an outworking of the constitution, states that all legal migrants are entitled to health care, to seek employment and to education in the same way as South African citizens. As previously discussed migrants within South Africa often fail to realise these rights due to preferential treatment for South African citizens by institutions such as health care facilities, the DoHA, provincial and municipal housing associations and other institutions responsible for service delivery.

According to the 2001 Western Cape Migration Survey it was reported that there were 25,000 refugees living in Cape Town, and an estimated 60,000 to 80,000 foreigners in the Western Cape, including all forms of migrants (PGWC, 2001). This number has increased greatly in the past 12 years. Despite this number growing it is still decidedly less than marginalised citizens in Cape Town who are living in abject poverty. As of June 2013 there were 426,711 people on the Western Cape housing waiting list and 65 percent (280,726) of them are in Cape Town. At a superficial level these statistics demonstrate the relatively small population of foreign nationals living in Cape Town, compared to the entire population and especially those attempting to realise the same constitutional rights. The reason this comparison is drawn is to bring the reader's attention to the comparative insignificance of migrants from the perspective of governmental institutions responsible for delivering constitutional rights. Therefore within Cape Town's Spatial Development Framework (SDF) there is no specific mention of refugees, asylum seekers or migrants. What the spatial policy does do is treat these individuals as integrated members of society and addresses social development as a whole. There are thus already preconceived notions which fail to understand the specific plight of migrants within Cape Town. However, within the City of Cape Town SDF there are a number of spatial policies, which aim to alleviate socio-spatial marginalisation throughout the city. These are:

*Spatial Development Framework Policy 3: Introduce land use policies and mechanisms that will support the development of small businesses (both informal and formal).* Through introducing appropriate land use planning policies and ensuring well-located formal and informal trading facilities this policy seeks to promote small businesses and entrepreneurial enterprises throughout the city. This stands to bolster the current trading networks within migrant communities. As previously discussed these



networks are key for the economic integration of many refugees and asylum seekers. With a renewed approach to informal trading and small businesses across the city, this policy stands to reduce the social marginalisation of migrants through bolstering informal trade and changing by-laws that had in the past had been infringed by the informal economy.

*Spatial Development Framework Policy 21: Put in place a LUMS (Land Use Management System) that supports a stepped approach to housing and tenure, and the development of a single property market.* As socio-spatial marginalisation is so prevalent throughout the city, this policy recognises that creative formal and incremental development options that accommodate informal development are needed. This policy seeks to create creative management of starter housing, and in-situ upgrades of informal settlements as well as in formal backyard dwellings. This impacts the migrant community as it will mean more flexible and more formal forms of tenure, healthier living environments and greater access to well-located starter housing.

*Spatial Development Framework Policy 36: Transform townships and informal settlements into economically and socially integrated neighbourhoods.* This policy recognises the inherited social, economic and spatial marginalisations that are apparent in Cape Town. It recognises that informality exists and that currently this informality is required as a means of mitigating the lasting effects of Apartheid's separate development policies. Policy 36 seeks to create a well-formulated plan of action supported by public investment. It stresses that priority should be given to the incremental improvement of living conditions and a 'sense of citizenship of the most marginalized residents of Cape Town, the homeless and the poorly housed'. This policy stands to greatly affect migrants as it seeks to ensure access to essential services for all and improve infrastructure, aiding development of marginalised neighbourhoods. This policy seeks to actively support the Violence Prevention through Urban Upgrading programme (VPUU), which will also act as a mitigating technique against the current socio-spatial marginalisation.

These municipal spatial development policies are in line with the Provincial Government of the Western Cape's Spatial Development Framework the PSDF. Under the PSDF's general aim of urban restructuring are objectives 6 and 7, which are to: (i) end the apartheid structure of urban settlements and (ii) to conveniently locate urban activities and promote public and non-motorised transport, respectively. Similarly to the City of Cape Town, SDF policies, although aimed at the general populous, will greatly effect and augment the integration of migrants within Cape Town. Through inclusive spatial policies, refugees and asylum seekers will be afforded access to the city through transportation and well located housing. Transport is particularly important as it acts as a tool for inclusion, enabling migrants to live and work throughout the city. As Cape Town's migrant spatial pattern is emerging along routes of established public transport the City and Province require cognisance such livelihood strategies when planning public transport expansion.

In the 2001 Western Cape Migration Survey, the Western Cape Provincial Government stated that upon pursuing development strategies and fine-grained spatial policy the government will come into increasing contact with migrant communities in the course of by-law enforcement, as migrant communities, predominantly asylum seeker communities, are often "placed in a position whereby they are forced to rely on informal work and housing in the cities, thus engaging in activities which



*Picture 4.9 & 4.10 - The two forms of public transport most commonly associated with migrant livelihood strategies. The minibus taxi and the train, both of which are essential for the economic integration of migrants  
(Photos by Guy Cyanga and Genevieve Ndaya respectively)*





are regulated by city by-laws" (PGWC, 2001: 11). In order for the City to actively aid in the alleviation of their current social-spatial marginalisation, the municipal police require training and the correct information in order to avoid them acting in an abusive and marginalising way towards migrants. The Migration Survey maintained that, "Foreigners are viewed in a positive light by most local residents but not necessarily by administrating officials" (PGWC, 2001: 14).

Social Spatial integration is an objective that seeks to mitigate the current social marginalisation of asylum seekers within South Africa. The presence of social spatial integration within Cape Town's spatial policy was assessed utilising the City of Cape Town's predominant piece of spatial policy, their SDF, and the Provincial Government's PSDF. Chapter 2 highlighted the plight of migrants in South Africa and areas which governmental policy requires cognisance of in order to augment their social-spatial integration. The research depicts spatial policy that is broadly cognisant of previous marginalisation within society, whilst not recognising the specific plight of refugees or asylum seekers. The City and Provincial SDFs explicitly aim to ameliorate marginalisation via a number of socio-spatial integration policies. However, these policies require more attention regarding migrants within the city's urban fabric, especially within the identifiable 'spatial pattern' that has emerged from my research findings (see figure 4.9). The lack of understanding of this spatial pattern is a city-wide planning issue. We must now move onto more fine-grained policy, examining its cognisance of migrants' spatial and livelihood strategies.

#### **4.4.2 DIVERSE SPATIAL AND LIVELIHOOD STRATEGIES IN MIGRANT COMMUNITIES**

Throughout the literature review a clear theme was the diversity in spatial and livelihood strategies employed by migrants throughout South Africa. In order to effectively augment integration Cape Town requires spatial policy cognisant of this diversity. The notion of mobility within migrant communities was previously discussed and this discussion depicted the vast diversity within South Africa's migrant communities, regarding their livelihoods strategies and willingness to engage with active citizenry. The National Spatial Development Perspective is a national government publication that adamantly encourages the notion of active citizenship in the development arena (RSA,2006). Often migrants do not want to become active citizens rather opting to remain anonymous within society. This section seeks to assess Cape Town's spatial policy in terms of its cognisance towards the diversity within migrant rich neighbourhoods.

...In South Africa if you don't want to study, you will be someone without a project. You will be someone today in this restaurant, tomorrow in that, and then you won't have a job...I have no experience. There are four of my cousins, they finished here and have good jobs, and they encouraged me to study here. Even if I don't get a job here it is good for me to go home and get a certificate I don't think I will be suffering for the rest of my life.

(Interview 8, Laurence Kabwiz, an Asylum Seeker from DRC, 15th August 2013)

Yea I came to Cape Town with a lot of things to do but I didn't want to stay for a lot of time, or spend all my time here, or have a family. Maybe I'll see how things are going.

(Interview 2, Emmanuel Bomgongo, an Asylum Seeker from DRC, 13th August 2013)

Laurence and Emmanuel portray the temporary nature of many migrants within Cape Town. The research depicts this sentiment across all nationalities of migrants and, as previously discussed, permanence is often entirely linked to employment and the salary earned from that employment. These neighbourhoods do not prescribe to linear market rationalities. They are complex systems, which are typically economically unstable due to their hyper-fluidity. This is an important dynamic that planners need to be cognisant of before applying simplistic neo-liberal market rationalities to neighbourhood plans. This also effects public participation which is called for in all of South Africa's planning policy. The call for all residents to participate within the planning process is undermined by those within such neighbourhoods who opt to remain anonymous. Likewise, the transient nature of many migrant residents means that many will not want to invest into their temporary community and therefore will not engage with the planning process. The planning processes within such communities require cognisance of all citizenry practices within migrant communities.

The City of Cape Town SDF has three policies which best apply to fine-grained neighbourhood level planning and stand to effect migrant rich neighbourhoods. These policies are:

*Spatial Development Framework Policy 3: Introduce land use policies and mechanisms that will support the development of small businesses (both informal and formal).* As previously discussed this policy seeks to engage with the informal economic sector within South Africa recognising that it is a vital gateway to economic integration for many residents. The second economy plays a large role in the livelihood strategies of many migrants within Cape Town. The role of informal jobs as first jobs that allow migrants to start to integrate requires particular sensitivity. Jobs such as roadside hair salons, small spaza shops, security guards, market stalls managers and informal construction work are all informal jobs sought by newcomers to the city. Informal economic networks are vital for the development of social capital within a city. This policy engages with the second economy and is cognisant of its importance for many citizens and non-citizens alike.

The SDF goes on to address the current urbanisation trends within Cape Town and states,

Urbanisation is a positive global phenomenon that allows for the development of productive, urban-based, modern economies, and is associated with sustained improvements in standards of living. However, it also brings challenges such as congestion, crime, informality and inadequate living conditions. It is thus important that the negative aspects of urbanisation are managed while the benefits of urban living (including greater economic, educational, health, social and cultural opportunities) are maximised and made accessible to all communities. If planned for and managed, urbanisation can contribute towards the building of an economically, environmentally and socially sustainable city.

(Extract, City of Cape Town Spatial Development Framework 2012: 18)

Within the SDF informality is clearly linked to notions of crime and grime. Municipal officials therefore tend to subscribe to the notion of informality being a land-use problem that can be 'solved' through the stricter enforcement of by-laws and land-use regulations (see chapter 2). Yet, my research findings demonstrate how informality enables migrants to pursue necessary livelihood strategies. These livelihood



strategies would be diminished if a stricter enforcement of by-laws and land-use regulations was to take place. The SDF goes on to suggest, in Policy 3, that creative policies need to be promulgated in order to manage this informality. Whilst at a superficial level this policy seems to address the complexities of informality, research findings further suggest that an alternative (and less control-based) planning approach concerning informality needs to be established in the neighbourhoods where an identifiable 'spatial pattern of migrant activities' is emerging.

*Spatial Development Framework Policy 12: Lobby for the introduction and/or expansion of passenger rail services.* An identified 'spatial pattern of migrant activities' can be attributed largely to the availability of entry-level rental housing in close proximity to points of employment, and/or to nodes of public transportation. Therefore the role of public transportation is vital for migrants within the city.

Some of them live [Maitland] there because it's close to town to get to work. Some of the Congolese ladies do hair or they sew clothes in town. So it doesn't take that long to get to work.

(Interview 9, Cresecia Cossa, an asylum seeker from Mozambique, 15th August 2013)

As Cresecia explains, the livelihood strategies of many migrants in Cape Town often revolve around points of income. Their settlement patterns are therefore influenced by the relative proximity to these points of income. This explains the large amount of migrants living in close proximity to Cape Town's rail networks, particularly along the Bellville to Cape Town northern city line. Research findings thus suggest that public transportation networks 'unlock' areas in the city, by making these areas more accessible to migrants. An expansion of the main commuter rail lines, as proposed in Policy 12 of the SDF, would open up new rental housing options, and, perhaps, lower the rental prices due to less market demand. The proposed rail link from Khayelitsha via Blue Downs to Kuils River stands to have this exact effect. Policy 12 is therefore clearly cognisant of the spatial marginalisation found within Cape Town's society. This cognisance will (whether knowingly or unknowingly) benefit diverse migrant communities in Cape Town.

*Spatial Development Framework Policy 16: Encourage medium to higher-density forms of urban development to locate on or adjacent to activity routes, development routes and activity streets.* This policy intends to encourage development in certain areas and reach density targets within strategic areas of the city. Clear from the research is the strategic importance of the Voortrekker Road Corridor in terms of migrant livelihood strategies. There is a great desire within the SDF to densify the city, particularly this Corridor. In chapter 5 I shall present suggestions regarding this Corridor aimed at integrating migrants into the urban fabric. In this way a large amount of rental housing can be created in well-located areas close to points of economic opportunity. This will mean that more rental stock will allow migrant communities to expand within the area, as well as enable other first time buyers or renters to come into the Corridor adding to its diversity. This policy will contribute towards diversity of migrant livelihood strategies as it will create more well-located housing bulk. It will also encourage economic opportunities in close proximity to current migrant communities, while allowing for greater accessibility. The following extract from an interview with Gedeon Tshumbu, an asylum seeker from

DRC, demonstrates the need for well-located and affordable housing in Cape Town in order to address current socio-spatial marginalisation.

**Is your wife going to come and live in Cape Town?**

If I get a better job, until then she is left there [in Kinshasa, DRC]. I married her I'm supposed to bring them here. It's a good idea to study. If my wife comes here it will be for my daughters to study. Here studying is less money. In my country it's very expensive for three children to study. The fees are very expensive.

**So you are living in Kuilsriver now? Are you enjoying it?**

Yea in the township, no I live there because it's cheap.

(Interview 10, Gedeon Tshumbu, an Asylum Seeker from DRC, 20th August 2013)

*Spatial Development Framework Policy 22: Promote appropriate land use intensification.* In accordance with the Provincial Spatial Development Framework there is a minimum base density target of 25 dwelling units/ha to be achieved in the next 20–30 years. As a typically sprawling South African city Cape Town's current density average is a lot lower than this and requires rigorous neighbourhood densification. Across the city small scale incremental densification will be considered and approved where appropriate in terms of infrastructure availability. This policy also considers the possible temporary or permanent relocation of informal housing settlements in order to formalise and densify settlements in which incremental development would be impossible. These processes necessitate the use of custom developed creative design and financing solutions. As previously discussed migrants



Picture 4.11 - Parow station looking north up Station Street, Parow's main informal market place.  
(Photo by Gedeon Tshumbu)



throughout the city often reside in different degrees of informality. Evident in the research are the extremely high densities of these informal housing solutions in which it is not uncommon for eighteen individuals to reside in a two-bedroom apartment. Whilst the City of Cape Town is not promulgating such density levels or informality, this policy will certainly benefit migrant communities within Cape Town. Within migrant communities there is a clear preference for cheap, well-located housing, even at the cost of living conditions. This is evident from the locations of the informal rent-a-bed housing in Woodstock, Salt River, Maitland, Parow and Brooklyn. The promulgation of higher densities would unlock a large amount of bulk in well-located regions such as the Voortrekker Road Corridor, which would subsequently reduce the cost of entry into the rental market and make small, cheap and well-located housing more accessible to members of the migrant community as well as the rest of society.

*Spatial Development Framework Policy 39: Generally support development, rezoning, subdivision and similar applications that promote a greater mix of land uses, people and/or densities.* Similarly to Policy 22 the City of Cape Town, in line with national and provincial policy, seeks to intensify land use within its urban edges, reducing sprawl and increasing density within the city. Mixed-use development is encouraged throughout the city in order to promote access to economic opportunity, public institutions, social facilities and public transport. Diversity in development will also provide a range of housing options on different housing markets promoting general integration in the city. This policy stands to benefit migrants within the city two-fold. Firstly, diversity in development will aid in the creation of mixed-income neighbourhoods, meaning migrants will be able to settle in well-located housing in areas previously inaccessible to them. This in turn will allow migrants to integrate and develop social capital in neighbourhoods and social groups previously disassociated with migrants, thus providing a wider spectrum of integration. Secondly, the promotion of mixed-use development will benefit the 'live above your shop' approach favoured by many migrant entrepreneurs. The 19th and 20th century idea of living above one's shop is a concept being readdressed by planners around the globe as it is a concept associated with promoting access to economic opportunity and reducing urban plagues such as traffic.

Again, these policies promulgated within the City of Cape Town SDF are in line with the objectives of the Western Cape PSDF. Objective 2 of the PSDF aims to deliver human development programs and basic needs programs wherever they are required. Objective 3 seeks to strategically invest scarce public resources where they will generate the highest socio-economic returns. As previously mentioned, objective 7 seeks to end the apartheid structure of urban settlements. These objectives portray little in the way of cognisance towards migrants within the Western Cape yet are committed to providing resources to those currently marginalised within society. The PSDF is committed to ensuring integration of all marginalised within society, of which refugees and asylum seekers often are. Through promulgation of policy ensuring higher density and mixed income development, the government of the Western Cape will inadvertently augment the integration process of migrants within Cape Town's urban fabric.

Evident in the literature review, research and field observations is the diversity in spatial and livelihood strategies within migrant communities in Cape Town. Migrant communities are polygeneous and cannot be understood by a single set of cultural, social and economic practices. Nevertheless, research findings illustrate that there is an identifiable 'spatial pattern of migrant activities' in Cape Town (see figure 4.9). Whilst Cape Town's spatial policy does little to recognise migrant communities themselves, it does

recognise the spatial manifestations of their existence. As previously discussed, housing informality and the second economy are vital aspects of migrants' integration into South African society. While the SDF is cognisant of informality, my research findings suggest that an alternative (and less control-based) planning approach concerning informality needs to be established in the neighbourhoods where an identifiable 'spatial pattern of migrant activities' has emerged. The following section analyses if and how Cape Town's spatial policy enables collaborative planning and Just City principles from migrants' standpoints.

#### 4.4.3 COLLABORATIVE PLANNING AND THE "JUST CITY"

Cape Town has a legacy of race based spatial segregation, which is still very prominent. To redress this legacy, collaborative planning is deemed a necessity in the SDF.

For the Growth Management Plan to be effective, it needs to be developed in collaboration with all spheres of government, surrounding municipalities, the private sector and communities. (City of Cape Town Spatial Development Framework, 2012: 35)

As this 15-year plan is designed to harmonise between specific neighbourhood-scale spatial plans,



*Picture 4.12 - A new residential development under construction in the Voortrekker Road Urban Development Zone. An example of well-located, high-density housing.  
(Photo by Moustafa Mandungu)*



forward planning and infrastructural provision it is an important strategic document for the city. Its recognition of the need for collaboration by many stakeholders is encouraging. Whilst key strategic stakeholders are recognised, so too are communities and private sector individuals. This recognition should ideally lead to a collaboration that goes beyond the 15-year growth management plan but also feature in the city's development schemes, thus creating an inclusive development process with the end goal being a Just City in which social and spatial justice are realised.

A consideration concerning collaborative planning that the City of Cape Town needs to be cognisant of is the Brain Gain scenario generated by the influx of migrants into the city's social fabric. Genevieve Ndaya an asylum seeker demonstrates this:

...I have a good education in my country but I can't access this education here. In South Africa there is another language. I am a teacher in my country but I cannot teach or communicate with the children because I don't know the language. It's very difficult for me. Language is a key in South Africa. If you don't know how to talk properly you must do another job like me. I have to change my job. I was taught to educate children...

(Interview 4, Genevieve Ndaya, an Asylum Seeker from DRC, 13th August 2013)

There is an indisputable Brain Gain scenario occurring in Cape Town in which educated migrants arrive in the city with skills and tertiary qualifications. They are often unable to access these qualifications and are forced to settle for menial jobs, which do not represent their qualifications or intellectual level. Their inability to access their previous education is a sociological argument that shall not be tackled in this dissertation, yet during the field work it became particularly apparent that through inclusive planning approaches many educated migrants, who are often able to think in an educated and lateral manner, would be excellent assets towards developing neighbourhood plans and strategies. Historically there has been a disjuncture in planning between educated lateral thinking planners and the desires of the neighbourhood whom are more often than not the historically working class. Yet with the influx of educated individuals, there are many living in informality, who when probed on certain topics are able to give substantiated opinions on neighbourhood planning matters. Planning policy requires cognisance of many migrants' inability to communicate. Public participation will only be effective if there are genuine mechanisms to include Francophones and Somali speakers within the process. The role of migrant-focussed NGOs is thus essential in educating and equipping migrants with communication skills.

Migrant mobility and neighbourhood fluidity are important factors within migrant communities. South Africa's planning literature calls for collaborative planning and public participation throughout all planning processes, which depicts a lack of cognisance of mobility and fluidity within migrant livelihood strategies. Port-of-entry neighbourhoods are characteristically spaces of transience in which a large proportion of residents are temporary. Collaborative planning and inclusion of all residents is therefore impossible in such neighbourhoods, due to many residents' reluctance to invest in the neighbourhood. In chapter 5 I shall present an argument for an alternative planning process in neighbourhoods of transience, in which all residents are encouraged to participate, but the process does become retarded due to lack of participation.



Picture 4.13 - Migrants from Cameroon and Congo DRC learning English at Scalabrini Refugee Centre  
(Photo by Author)



4.14 - Both Asylum seekers and refugees learn English at Scalabrini Refugee Centre in Cape Town CBD.  
(Photo by the Author)



Fainstein (2010) posits a number of criteria that should be present in order to achieve a Just City (see chapter 2). Much of these criteria require a renewed lense for viewing the city. She posits that planners are actually spatial advocates who administer justice through spatial policy. In order for spatial justice to be achieved, planners cannot allow economic growth to be the primary goal of city planning. Rather, they need to view the city as a dynamic organism that requires socio-spatial policy to right the wrongs of previous mistakes or class struggles. In this way one is able to achieve a Just City that actively works to correct spatial legacies of the Apartheid regime. The City of Cape Town is cognisant of the need for spatial justice to occur and actively pursues measures to rectify past marginalisation. Economic growth and the associated trickle down are still pursued as the primary measure of development in the city. Without negating the importance of economic growth, measures of redistribution and pursuit of spatial justice are vitally important for the future of Cape Town and South Africa. The City of Cape Town's spatial policy needs to recognise this and use it to bolster their social-economic development measures. The PSDF similarly to the City of Cape Town's SDF recognises the need for redistribution of wealth within the province. It also enshrines economic development as a means of augmenting this redistribution. A Just City can only be achieved if this wealth creation is correctly managed and redistributed through effective welfare systems and mechanisms, otherwise it falls prey to the polarising nature of pure capitalism. Mechanisms of redistribution are required in order to pursue economic growth and equality simultaneously. Therefore there needs to be substantive legislation and policy provision in order to achieve the desired redistribution pronounced by both provincial and local governments.





*Picture 4.15 - A vacant ERF in Parow adjacent to a prominent church. Faith-based organisations are key enablers of public participation  
(Photo by Yvie Doriane Hobatcha)*



*Picture 4.16 - Maitland Park, an increasingly diverse space. Public spaces are key in enabling multicultural practices and defining a neighbourhood's unique genius loci (See figure 4.5)  
(Photo by Messi Kasongo)*



## 4.5 CONCLUSION

The aim of this chapter was to unpack and analyse the research findings and, combined with fieldwork observations, construct a holistic case study of migrants' spatial and livelihood strategies within Cape Town. This chapter has constructed a fine-grained case study of migrants' approaches to integration and thereafter the City of Cape Town's response to these approaches. A thorough analysis of the City of Cape Town and the Western Cape Provincial Government's spatial development frameworks was conducted in order to analyse their receptiveness and cognisance of migrants within the city. Use of semi-structured interviews with migrants, fieldwork observations and discussions with professionals involved in the migration arena have aided in a holistic case study being constructed. This case study was utilised to test the port-of-entry conceptualisation in the Cape Town context, and thereafter test the appropriateness of Cape Town's spatial policy.

When testing the port-of-entry criteria in Cape Town it became increasingly apparent that a migrant spatial pattern is emerging (see figure 4.9). The importance of the Voortrekker Road Corridor in the livelihood strategies of migrants is increasing as Maitland, Parow and Bellville are emerging as important port-of-entry neighbourhoods within Cape Town. Whilst these neighbourhoods do not portray all of the criteria discussed in chapter 2, their diversity, informality, prominence and migrant populations are growing, conforming to the port-of-entry conceptualisation. Figure 4.9 depicts the bilinear spatial pattern emerging in Cape Town. This pattern straddles the northern rail line from the Cape Town CBD to Bellville and the southern rail line from Salt River to Muizenberg. Increasingly evident is the importance of public transport in unlocking access to neighbourhoods for migrants across the city. The expansion of the MyCiti bus infrastructure, for example, has resulted in the northern suburbs becoming more accessible to migrants and many are moving into the suburbs of Parklands and Tableview. The role of the Foreshore is diminishing as there is no longer a permanent community living under the bridges. It is clear that there is a need for policy cognisant of this emerging spatial pattern across the city.

From the research findings presented in this chapter it is clear that Cape Town's spatial policy fails to address the migrant communities' current marginalisation. As previously discussed, the primary reason for this is the so-called relative insignificant size of these communities when compared to the number of spatially marginalised South Africans in the city. The City of Cape Town's spatial development framework enshrines spatial justice as a main theme as it recognises the need to rectify the spatial marginalisations particularly prevalent in the Southeast area of the city. As an outworking of the integrated development plan, the City's SDF seeks to aid economic and social integration of all citizens through the developments of new infrastructures and housing throughout the city. The migrant communities stand to benefit from this push, yet are not mentioned as specific recipients. Therefore the City's spatial policies are not cognisant of the spatial and livelihood strategies of migrant communities, yet much of their desire to correct legacies of marginalisation have an empowering effect on these communities and ultimately stand to aid in their societal and economic integration.





Figure 4.9 Cape Town's migrant spatial pattern  
(Source: NGI and CoCT)



<b>Overarching “Port-Of-Entry” Conceptual- isation Criteria</b>	<b>Assessment Criteria Derived from the Literature Review</b>	<b>Subsidiary Research Questions Derived From The Assessment Criteria</b>	<b>Summary of Research Findings</b>
<b>Informality</b>	Understanding 'informality' (in the broadest sense) as a characteristic of port-of-entry neighbourhoods	Can port-of-entry neighbourhoods exist without this informality?	-Informality is a key characteristic within port-of- entry neighbourhoods in South African cities yet informality exists throughout these cities.
		What does tenure mean for asylum seekers? And, might tenure include a less formalised (legal and binding) understanding	-Legal tenure is very difficult to attain for a newcomer to the city. -Informal rental schemes, that don't require formal identification and lease agreements, are a necessity for many newcomers. -Income is often generated through breaching formal agreements.
		How do different neighbourhoods (or nodes) within Cape Town accommodate informal economic activities (including small-scale and/ or transnational trade activities)?	-Areas such as Bellville and Parow accommodate informal activity and have become the informal trading supply centre in the city -Higher income areas have become stricter and have often displaced informal traders from the area, eg. Cavendish Square
	Critically exploring local government rhetoric	Are port-of-entry neighbourhoods empirically associated with the 'crime and grime' and 'squalor' rhetoric that is often found in local government policies and/or assumptions?	-Due to informality crime and grime easily take root in migrant rich neighbourhoods. -Cape Town's Improvement District schemes are successful in countering both crime and grime. -Crime and Grime is not synonymous with migrant rich neighbourhoods, Bellville is an example of this -Crime and grime is more prevalent outside of migrant communities in Cape Town
<b>Transnational mobility and neighbourhood fluidity</b>	Exploring cross- border socio- economic mobility	Are there areas of Cape Town that exhibit spatial manifestations of transnational mobility? If so where are these areas?	- Bellville and Parow are two primary centres. Woodstock Salt River, Brooklyn, Maitland and Muizenberg lesser so.

	Exploring the idea of fluidity and ephemerality	Do asylum seekers view different neighbourhoods (or nodes) within Cape Town as temporary 'launching pads' to other destinations (whether locally, nationally, or internationally)?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- The Foreshore was Cape Town's Launchpad in which migrants on average spent less than a month</li> <li>- Maitland, Parow and Bellville are areas in which many migrants begin to integrate from and can be seen essentially as launch pads to other areas within the city.</li> </ul>
<b>Diversity</b>	Exploring the existence of complex and diverse socio-economic networks	Do asylum seekers rely on different and complex socio-economic networks to survive in Cape Town?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- There are vastly complex migrant networks within Cape Town.</li> <li>- Family and friendship and kinship ties are vital for an migrants' integration within Cape Town.</li> </ul>
	Exploring the idea of inter-culturalism	How does the idea of inter-culturalism manifest within the Cape Town context?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Maitland is Cape Town's best example of inter-culturalism in which many different cultures are present and co-exist often presenting symbiotic relationships.</li> </ul>
<b>Landing Space</b>	The Neighbourhood acts as the first port of call for many migrants to the city	Is there a specific neighbourhood in which newcomers 'land' and find their feet?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- No, not a specific neighbourhood, there are three main neighbourhoods namely: Maitland, Parow and Bellville.</li> <li>- The neighbourhood often depends upon language spoken by the newcomer.</li> </ul>
<b>Social capital</b>	Exploring the spatial manifestation of social capital	How does social capital manifest within Cape Town's urban fabric?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- There are distinct settlement patterns formed around mutual language and nationalities most notably: Maitland, Parow (Francophone and English speaking) and Bellville (Somali speaking).</li> </ul>
	Exploring the correlation between social integration and social capital	Is there a direct correlation between social integration and social capital?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Social capital and social integration are linked but can act in separate ways, it can either encourage or detriment integration depending upon an individuals entrenchment within their collective.</li> </ul>
	Understanding the expectations upon individuals by collectives	What are the expectations of individuals by a collective group? Is there an evident brain gain in Cape Town? How does this effect migrant economic networks.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Cape Town presents collectivities grouped around family and kinship ties, which tend to place a large amount of expectations on those able to earn.</li> <li>- Idleness is not tolerated within Cape Towns collectivities, studying is widely encouraged, as there is a general drive for financial success within the migrant communities.</li> </ul>

*Table 4.1 - Summary of chapter 4 research findings testing the port-of-entry conceptualisation in the Cape Town context*



<b>Overarching Spatial Policy Assessment Criteria</b>	<b>Assessment Criteria Derived from the Literature Review</b>	<b>Subsidiary Research Questions Derived from the Assessment Criteria</b>	<b>Summary of Research Findings</b>
<b>Socio-spatial integration</b>	Promoting socio-spatial integration as opposed to the marginalisation of asylum seekers	Is the spatial marginalisation of refugees politically or ethnically motivated?	- There is a general focus upon rectifying spatial marginalisation of citizens before including migrants, intentionally or unintentionally this entrenches migrant marginalisation.
		How do local planning policies and practices address the socio-spatial integration of migrants?	- Cape Town's planning policies address Cape Town's spatial marginalisation as a whole rather than focus on specific people groups.
<b>Diverse spatial and livelihood strategies</b>	Promoting diverse spatial and livelihood strategies (including informality)	How do local planning policies and practices accommodate diverse spatial and livelihood strategies (including informality)?	- The SDF acknowledges the importance of high density and aspects of informality as important measures in combating spatial segregation. - The SDF maintains that creative measures are required in order to manage informality without undermining this important role.
		How do different neighbourhoods (or nodes) within Cape Town accommodate diverse spatial and livelihood strategies (including informality)?	- Areas in which less active citizenry exist play a more accommodating role to migrants and allow for the diversity in livelihood strategies e.g. neighbourhoods of degradation of semi industrial areas.

<b>Collaborative planning and the “Just City”</b>	Assessing collaborative planning	How are asylum seekers included in local planning and decision-making processes that impact on their everyday survival strategies?	- There is no cognisance of the specific livelihood strategies of asylum seekers and refugees within Cape Town’s spatial policy.
	Exploring distributive justice	What does distributive justice mean for asylum seekers?	- Asylum seekers and refugees are staged at a similar juncture to the previously disadvantaged in the city, there are similar barriers to entry in terms of true integration. - Access to well located housing is perhaps the most vital need in terms of distributive justice.
	Promoting the Just City	How do local planning policies and practices promote the idea of a just city?	- Spatial equality is promoted throughout the spatial policy - Recognised is the previous social and spatial marginalisation - Access to economic opportunity and well-located permanent housing are themes throughout the Spatial Policy.
	Recognising cultural diversity as an integral policy informing notion	How is cultural diversity recognised in the City of Cape Town’s planning policies?	- Cultural diversity is not specifically recognised yet there is a realisation of the current cultural segregation that exists within the city. - The MSDF and PSDF highlight a desire to create mixed-use, mixed-income neighbourhoods that stand to induce neighbourhoods of cultural diversity.

*Table 4.2 - Summary of chapter 4 research findings regarding Cape Town’s current spatial policy*



# 5 SUGGESTIONS



*A new gap housing development in Maitland  
(Photo by Moustafa Mandungu)*



## 5.1 INTRODUCTION

Apparent in the research is the emergence of 'a spatial pattern of migrant activities'. This 'spatial pattern' (or spatial manifestation of migrant activities) only became apparent after engaging in a mapping exercise of the research findings. Accordingly, three neighbourhoods stand out as being of particular relevance to migrants' everyday livelihood strategies. These three neighbourhoods are Matiland, Parow and Bellville. All three exhibit linear spatial patterns along the Northern and Southern railway lines in established lower middle-income suburbs (see figure 4.7). Matiland, Parow and Bellville also exhibit aspects of 'port-of-entry' characteristics. This is not to suggest that other neighbourhoods within Cape Town are devoid of migrant activities, or that I aim to 'contain' all migrant activities to these three neighbourhoods alone. Rather, the recommendations presented in this chapter focus, to some extent, on the three neighbourhoods that emerged from the research findings, while simultaneously aiming to promote spatial and socio-economic integration within the city as a whole.

Chapter 4 also highlights that spatial policies lack cognisance of migrants' diverse spatial and socio-economic livelihood strategies. This ultimately means that the City of Cape Town and the Western Cape Provincial Government are promulgating policies with little understanding of how they impact on migrants' livelihood and integration strategies within Cape Town. There is thus a need to rethink and re-conceptualise current policies and by-laws, since the state's desire for spatial and socio-economic integration concerns all residents' rights to live in a more 'just' and integrated city. The integration of refugees and asylum seekers into the host society is a key theme of this dissertation. To this end, the aim of this final chapter of the dissertation is to identify a few policy and other recommendations in order to promote a more just and integrated city.

The first section of the chapter begins by suggesting an alternative planning approach. Thereafter, I will explore non-spatial policy recommendations that, if implemented to, have spatial repercussions within the city. Finally, I will conclude by briefly reflecting on the research process and outcomes.

## 5.2 AN ALTERNATIVE PLANNING APPROACH

Cape Town has many neighbourhoods across the city that are inhabited by sizable migrant communities. Nevertheless, a notable research finding is the central role that the neighbourhoods located along the Voortrekker Road Corridor perform with regards to migrants' everyday livelihood strategies. Matiland, Parow and Bellville, in particular, exhibit this role. Other neighbourhoods within this Corridor (such as Woodstock, Salt River, Brooklyn and Goodwood) are also prominent migrant rich neighbourhoods. All of these neighbourhoods are well located in terms of access to public transport and connectivity around the city. Through the testing of the port-of-entry conceptualisation--and through a recognition of Maitland, Parow and Bellville as vital port-of-entry neighbourhoods--I am now able to present planning recommendations that seek to augment desires for a more just and integrated city based on the research findings presented in chapter 4.



When developing an alternative planning approach for migrant rich neighbourhoods one has to be cognisant of a number of factors. The following factors arose from the literature review, as well as the research. First, one has to consider the desire of many migrant residents to remain anonymous (Winkler, 2012). The second consideration is the lack of buy-in from many residents to certain development proposals. This lack of buy-in (or lack of participation within neighbourhood development projects) is a result of migrants' transience within such neighbourhoods. This transient nature requires greater understanding within spatial policy, as many migrants will opt-out of the policy-encouraged participation. Necessitating a renewed strategy of mobilisation for such transient people groups. Third, the realisation of residents 'rights to the city', namely rights granted to migrants by the constitution, becomes important. Finally, one has to understand the needs of migrants and their level of knowledge regarding the host nation. This understanding includes a recognition of potential cultural and language 'gaps' (or misunderstandings) between migrants and the mainstream society (Winkler, 2012). With this in mind I hasten to provide informed suggestions regarding a planning approach aimed at augmenting migrants' integration into South African society, but without suggesting the need for assimilation. Rather, the type of integration I aim to promote includes a respect for migrants' diverse cultures, languages, norms and values. In other words, the recommendations presented in this chapter are based on a respect for diversity via the pursuit for a more 'just' and inter-cultural city. As such, the following principles are some of the planning principles that may enable an alternative approach to planning in Cape Town (and possibly elsewhere).

### **5.2.1 PURSUING EQUITY, DIVERSITY AND DEMOCRACY**

Miraftab (2009) maintains that neighbourhoods of high diversity require an alternative planning approach that is premised on community-led, equitable and inclusionary planning interventions. When dealing with transient and hyper-fluid migrant neighbourhoods, community-led planning does not, and cannot, suffice. Unlike the CDC projects in America, port-of-entry neighbourhoods foster an idea of a lack of permanence and a lack of time to get involved in community-led projects. The role of the overarching planning authority is then key within such areas. So while democratic participation is vital, in the case of port-of-entry neighbourhoods the role of the local state becomes equally vital. Accordingly, municipal planners need to become effective mediators and negotiators between the different stakeholders who live in port-of-entry neighbourhoods, even if some stakeholders are perceived to be constantly 'on the move'.

Fainstein (2010) describes the need for a mobilised constituency within neighbourhoods of high diversity. However, mass mobilisation is difficult within transient and fluid neighbourhoods. I argue that the role of NGOs is vital at this juncture, as they represent migrant groups. NGOs are able to engage migrants and advocate on their behalf. Moreover, most NGOs are stable and permanent organisations that are not hindered by the fluidity of the residents they represent. They also possess the 'power' to mobilize against injustices. In Cape Town, many migrant-focussed NGOs are trusted and respected by migrants, as opposed to the DoHA. Thus, for inclusionary and democratic participation to take place, I suggest that all state facilitated mediation and negotiation engagements between the different stakeholders of a port-of-entry neighbourhood include migrant-focussed NGOs. These NGOs might then become 'advocacy planners'.

Beard (2002) maintains that collaborative planning seeks to revise governance mechanisms to create a sustainable balance of power between the state and those affected by its planning policies. The collaborative planning approach is a distinct break from the market driven planning approach synonymous with capitalist states (Fainstein, 2010). However, collaborative planning bares little cognisance of fluidity, mobility, anonymity and the language barriers presented by port-of-entry neighbourhoods.

An appropriate planning process for Cape Town's port-of entry neighbourhoods would be one not predicated upon collaborative planning, but rather one that is cognisant of the diversity and fluidity of migrant livelihood patterns. Fainstein's Just City principles of equity, diversity and democracy are important principles for the planning process within port-of-entry neighbourhoods. Evident from Cape Town's spatial planning policies is the pursuit of economic growth within the city. Migrant rich neighbourhoods are often neighbourhoods associated with squalor, crime and grime. Yet, a market-led urban regeneration scheme stands to undermine the integration techniques derived in such neighbourhoods. In order to achieve Fainstein's Just City conceptualisation, a break from market rationales and a focus upon redistributive and spatial justice is required. In so doing, the focus shifts back to the principles of equity, diversity and democracy and achieving a Just City. Calls for a 'just city' would further be enhanced by explicitly involving migrant-focussed NGOs in the public decision making processes and outcomes of port-of-entry neighbourhoods.

### **5.2.2 INCORPORATING INTER-CULTURALISM: ENCOURAGING DIVERSITY**

An inclusive planning approach enables inter-culturalism. Sandercock (2003) argues that true multicultural societies go beyond simply supporting migrant groups. Rather, they actively work to incorporate migrant residents into society, while respecting diversity. Thus, mutual cultural learning occurs. This inter-culturalism is promulgated by appropriate practices of municipal workers--especially the police, teachers, health care workers, judges and planners--combined with local level political commitment to developing integration through the involvement of a breadth of organisations, including migrant-focussed NGOs (Sandercock, 2003). The City of Cape Town's officials and politicians are therefore only the local level actor of a proposed inter-cultural city. National bodies, private institutions and individuals also need to become proactively involved in promoting inter-culturalism. Societal cognisance of inter-culturalism will benefit the local level planning process with buy-in and the involvement of migrant-focussed NGOs becoming standard practice. A multi-tiered political and policy support system may, in turn, result in an effective, efficient and inclusionary planning system for Cape Town (and possibly elsewhere).

Inter-culturalism seeks to include migrants in cross-cultural activities, dialogues and organisations through an inclusive process of public participation (Sandercock, 2003). Diversity is a key factor within migrant-rich neighbourhoods and thus cannot be understated. The MSDP and PSDP are cognisant of Cape Town's spatial marginalisation and promulgate a process of integration, yet clearly favour a neo-liberal economy-led development pattern. There is thus great risk that homogenous neighbourhoods will be developed, rather than neighbourhoods that exhibit and encourage rich diversity. As South Africa is increasingly becoming host to a global constituency, a renewed planning approach must



encourage diversity or run the risk of ignoring it (Crush and MacDonald, 2000). The *genius loci* of such neighbourhoods should represent this Pan-African diversity (see chapter 4).

Furthermore, an engaged planning approach in neighbourhoods of high diversity necessitates a thorough understanding of the diverse cultural practices and livelihood strategies found in port-of-entry neighbourhoods. To this end, different migrant community groups need to be represented in public participation processes facilitated by the City of Cape Town. This, as previously recommended, may be enabled through the involvement of migrant-focussed NGOs in public participation processes.

A receiving society can become overly concerned with diversity. Concerns include a fear that social cohesion might be undermined in areas of heightening diversity. This is a reasonable concern. Yet, through joint planning and other cohesive initiatives, such as faith-based organisations and community upliftment projects, this concern can be nullified. Segregation undermines integration. Thus, some form of 'neighbourhood cohesion' becomes important in migrant rich areas. However, such 'cohesion' requires a sensitivity to, and respect for, diversity.

### **5.2.3 APPROPRIATE POLICY LANGUAGE**

The importance of the language and tone used in public policy and spatial planning frameworks cannot be understated. In 1998, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the then Minister of Home Affairs, referred to migrants as 'aliens' within South Africa (Solomon, 2000). This language has an obvious xenophobic sentiment that encourages marginalisation. For a more 'just' and effective integration of migrants into the urban fabric of South Africa, they require societal acceptance of, and respect for, their constitutional rights.

### **5.2.4 ALTERNATIVE CITIZENRY PRACTICES**

An alternative planning approach requires cognisance of those within migrant-rich neighbourhoods who pursue alternative citizenry practices to the mainstream. Individuals or collectives should be encouraged to participate during all of the stages of a planning process. If, however, individuals or collectives are unable to participate in planning processes, migrant-focussed NGOs should be encouraged to represent, and advocate on behalf of, diverse migrant groups. Whilst encouraging participation is imperative, coercion is not acceptable. Research findings demonstrate that many migrants opt to remain anonymous and pursue non-civic engaged livelihoods. They cannot be coerced into participation. This means that the process should not assume, like the National Spatial Development Perspective (RSA, 2006) that all citizens should and will participate within their own development. Rather, the NSDP must allow for various forms of 'citizenship' in order to be more cognisant of individuals or collectives who choose to remain anonymous.

The final point regarding citizenry practices concerns the sporadic occurrence of migrants' perceived fear of the state. It has been documented in Italy and the United Kingdom that migrants struggle to trust the governing authority and therefore fail to collaborate with them (Harrell-Bond, 2002. Behnia, 1996). As South Africa has an extremely under-capacitated Department of Home Affairs, there have

been many unfortunate and hostile encounters between migrants and the government of South Africa. This aspect, combined with a potential distrust of the state, could potentially frustrate the proposed planning approach.

### **5.2.5 THE IMPORTANCE OF INFORMALITY**

The importance of residential informality and the second economy is vital within the livelihood strategies of migrants within the city. The City SDF is cognisant of the strategic role of informal housing and informal economic employment across the city. The City SDF calls for creative and innovative ways to deal with informality within the city, by formalising it without it losing its vital role. I shall present one of these innovative solutions that deals with the informal housing market later in this section.

Cape Town's port-of-entry neighbourhoods are located along the Voortrekker Road Corridor. This Corridor is strategic for a number of reasons. First, it is centrally located within the city, thereby making it a prime space for commercial and mixed-use activities. Second, there are a number of transport routes bordering the Corridor, namely the N1, N7, M5, Voortrekker Road and the Northern Cape Town rail line. Third, this Corridor is home to a number of old residential and light industrial neighbourhoods. There is thus much scope for new high-density developments to promote greater integration.

In such strategic neighbourhoods there cannot be blanket relaxations of by-laws or poorly enforced zoning schemes as Winkler (2012) argues are necessities within port-of-entry neighbourhoods. Rather, I argue that a 5-year rollover moratorium on zoning be implemented, whilst new and higher density housing developments take place along the Corridor. This 'state of exception' recognises incrementalism, but it does not become a generalized condition where those who are unable to afford formal housing are condemned to a second-tier set of standards (Ward, 1999). This moratorium would prevent port-of-entry neighbourhoods from becoming degenerated neighbourhoods. Rather, as affordable housing options are made available, a migration to formal tenure will occur. In the following section I present an innovative response to informal residential tenure in Cape Town's port-of-entry neighbourhoods.



# INNOVATION BOX

## **VOORTREKKER ROAD RETROFITTING SCHEME REINVENTING CAPE TOWN'S INFORMAL HOUSING MARKET A CREATIVE INCLUSIONARY HOUSING SOLUTION**

The City of Cape Town SDF calls for innovative and creative solutions to be found regarding informality in the city (see sections 4.4.1 and 4.4.2). As one of the primary means of integration informal housing sites are prevalent within Cape Town's strategically located neighbourhoods, particularly those within the Voortrekker Road Corridor. These housing locations by their very nature break a number of by-laws or zoning stipulations. The City of Cape Town recognises their vital role yet also recognise the need for Cape Town's inhabitants to adhere to such legislation. Therefore an alternative housing solution is required in order to mitigate such contravention of this legislation.

The Voortrekker Road Corridor has been designated an Urban Development Zone (UDZ) by the City of Cape Town in partnership with the National Treasury and South African Revenue Service (SARS). This means that tax exemptions are granted to developers and investors who develop property within the UDZ. This exhibits the City's desire to regenerate the Corridor through high-density housing solutions and incentivising big business back into this strategic area.

The research portrays that it is home to many informal migrant housing locations. These range from abandoned industrial and retail spaces being used as housing, to a number of flats and apartments housing far more individuals than the maximum stipulated within the lease. The Voortrekker Road Corridor is strategically located for migrants due to its proximity to a number of low to medium skill employment opportunities, the northern railway line from the CBD to Bellville, the Voortrekker Road as well as N2 and N1 and M5 highways. The following discussion outlines my proposal for this strategic area aimed primarily at integration of migrants as well as fulfilling the city's density, mixed-use and mixed income development goals in the Corridor.

I propose the Voortrekker Road Retrofitting Scheme as a creative solution in response to such informal housing sites. This scheme, in accordance to the Central Cape Town district plan and the Tygerberg District plan, aims to create a multi-lateral development partnership between the City of Cape Town, the Department of Human Settlements, the Department of Home Affairs, the Voortrekker Corridor Improvement District, residents and business owners.

This scheme is devised exclusively for legal migrants within the Western Cape, enabling transience and fluidity throughout the process. It aims to retrofit buildings in the Voortrekker Road Corridor into dorm style residential housing with shared amenities. Such developments would encourage further integration due to their strategic location, ultimately augmenting neighbourhood cohesion.

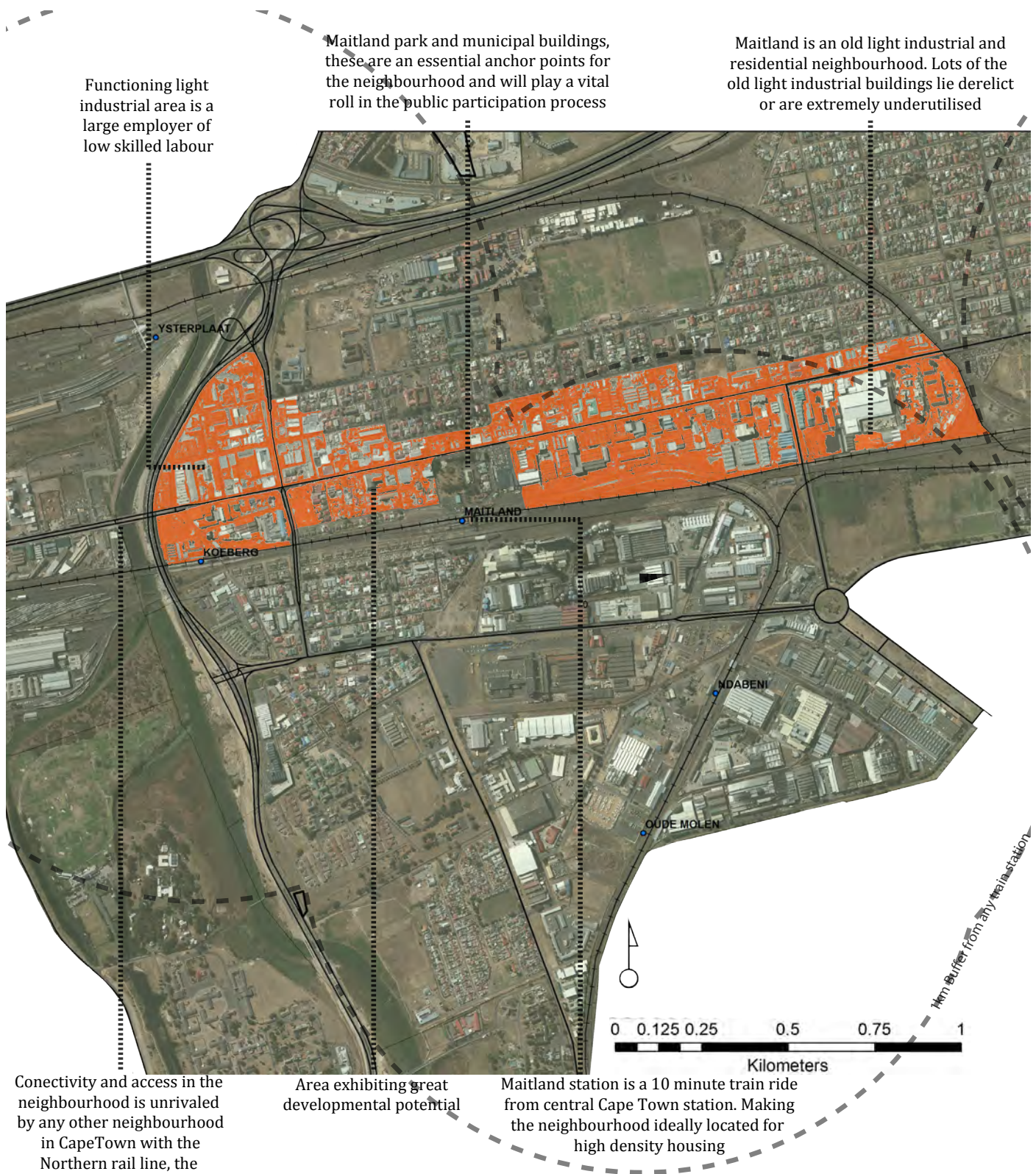


*Picture 5.1 - A typically underutilised Maitland office and light industrial space on the Voortrekker Road. Retrofitting and vertical expansion would create high-density well-located housing coupled with mixed-use facilities (both key aspirations for Voortrekker Road Corridor development)  
(Photo by Messi Kasongo)*



*Picture 5.2 - At the beginning of Voortrekker Road, there is much underutilised office space in Salt River exhibiting the potential for retrofitting. Such strategic locations encourage the development of mixed-use developments, supporting the City of Cape Town's aims for the Corridor.  
(Photo by Genevieve Ndaya)*





*Figure 5.1 - Proposed Maitland retrofit development zone  
(Source: NGI and CoCT)*

Upon completion of these developments a subsidiary non-profit organisation of the multi-lateral partnership would run and govern them. Funding for such projects could be lobbied from international institutions such as the UNHCR, the European Refugee Fund and the Bishop Tutu Refugee Fund. Such sources would be attracted to this scheme as it is endorsed by both National and Local government and is particularly focused upon the integration of urban refugees into society, rather than a camp-like scenario. Further research is required regarding the Corridor and the specific sites of such a proposal (Figures 5.1 and 5.2 however, depict the general location of such sites within the neighbourhoods of Parow and Maitland).



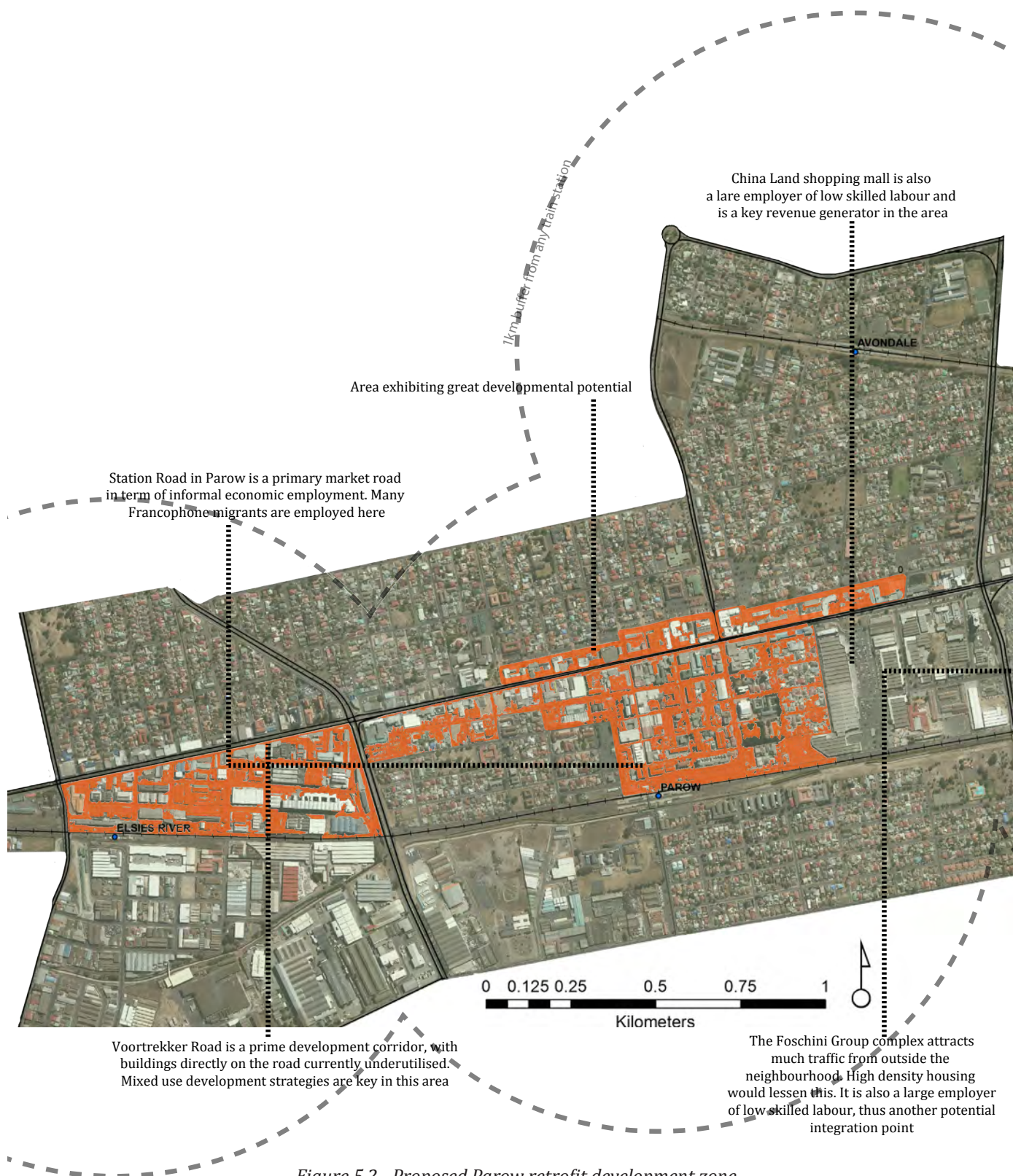


Figure 5.2 - Proposed Parow retrofit development zone  
(Source: NGI and CoCT)

The proposed housing scheme seeks to bolster the City of Cape Town's ambition to rejuvenate the Voortrekker Road Corridor. The suggested retrofit scheme would result in a shift from the light industrial character of the Corridor to a more high-density residential feel, similar to the *genius loci* of residential Queens in New York. Such a project would create an integration base for newcomers to the city in which South African citizens and migrants live simultaneously within a high-density environment. This scheme seeks to rectify spatial marginalisation within the city by unlocking affordable, high-density housing in strategically located areas of the city.



## 5.2.5 ALTERNATIVE PLANNING APPROACH: ACTORS AND ACTIONS

Actors	Actions
<b>The City of Cape Town Metropolitan Government</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Key stakeholders as they facilitate and action this planning approach (in collaboration with migrant-focussed NGOs)</li> <li>-Develop a neighbourhood partnership which represents all listed stakeholders.</li> <li>-Encourage public participation with migrant-focussed NGOs, and, if possible, with individuals and/or groups</li> <li>-Call and chair public participatory meetings.</li> <li>-Mediate between all stakeholders within the planning process, enabling inclusion and equality throughout the process.</li> </ul>
<b>Migrant Focussed NGOs</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Key facilitators of this alternative planning process.</li> <li>-Collaborate and represent migrant communities when engaging in the planning process.</li> <li>-Encourage public participation within migrant communities, effectively developing communities 'voices' in the planning arena.</li> <li>-Scrutinise the planning process to ensure non-citizens rights are being met, coercion is not taking place and planners are collaborating appropriately with the beneficiaries of such plans.</li> <li>-Lobby national and international bodies when such rights are unmet.</li> </ul>
<b>Neighbourhood Development Partnerships</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Evaluate key goals and aspirations, incorporating notions of redistributive justice, diversity, democracy and equity (moving towards a Just City development approach and away from purely capitalist development trajectories).</li> </ul>
<b>Local Business Owners</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Participation in planning process</li> <li>-Essential stakeholders in the economic upliftment of neighbourhoods.</li> </ul>
<b>Property Owners</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Participate within planning process</li> <li>-Encourage upliftment through reinvestment into their properties. (This is enabled via the UDZ).</li> </ul>
<b>Resident Citizens *</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Collaborate within participatory planning process</li> <li>-Understand and encourage migrants' rights to the city</li> </ul>

<b>Resident Non-Citizens *</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Understand their rights to the city</li> <li>-Collaborate within the participatory planning process, if intending to remain anonymous elect a spokesperson for their collective who will represent them within the planning process , or work through migrant-focussed NGOs</li> </ul>
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\*Separated to emphasise their complementary roles in encouraging and enabling integration and diversity.

*Table 5.1 - Actors and actions in outworking this alternative planning approach*

University of Cape Town



## 5.3 POLICY SUGGESTIONS

This section presents a number of non-spatial policy suggestions, which have spatial ramifications. Chapter 4 portrayed Cape Town's spatial policy as lacking cognisance of migrants' livelihood and integration strategies. These suggestions intend to work simultaneously with the renewed planning approach to promote a more 'just', inter-cultural and integrated city.

### 5.3.1 MIGRANT INTEGRATION INTO HOUSING WAITING LISTS

In South Africa it is clear that whilst the constitution is progressive in terms of granting rights to migrants, such rights are often unmet in reality. One of these provisions is the right to housing, enshrined in Chapter 26 of the constitution by stating, "everyone has the right to have access to adequate housing" (Act 200 of 1993). This, similarly to the right to Healthcare, means that all legal migrants are eligible to qualify for housing provided by the government. Under the Breaking New Ground housing process a South African citizen must have a household income of less than R3500 per month. If a migrant fulfils this prerequisite then their household (under section 26 of the Constitution (RSA,1996)) should be entitled to the same housing as South African citizens.

Migrants' incorporation onto Housing Waiting lists around South Africa is not without its challenges. Xenophobic backlashes are potential consequences of such an action. Migrants could be misunderstood to be stealing citizens' houses (a similar sentiment to that which fuelled the 2008 xenophobic violence in which citizen blamed migrants for stealing their jobs). I argue that a redesign of the housing waiting list might allow for a more 'just', inter-cultural and integrated city, the single most effective means of migrant integration within South Africa. Such a redesign should, however include South African citizens and migrant-focussed NGOs.

Within the literature on integrating migrants into host societies, the concept of nesting becomes apparent (Korac, 2003. Weinfeld, 1997). This concept pertains to the desire of refugees to settle and create stable living conditions for their families. This sentiment does not manifest in the entire population of asylum seekers and refugees in Cape Town. Many view the city as a launching pad to other places of economic opportunity. Yet, there are many that are essentially nesting in Cape Town. Their incorporation onto formal housing waiting lists would provide stable living conditions without the insecurity associated with informal tenure.

<b>Actors</b>	<b>Actions</b>
<b>The City of Cape Town Metropolitan Government</b>	-Aid in the equipping of the national government when in incorporating migrants onto the housing waiting lists
<b>Migrant focussed NGOs</b>	-Key Role players in advocacy issues -Negotiating with the City and National bodies -Mobilisation of migrant communities against unjust housing policies
<b>National Department of Housing &amp; National Treasury</b>	-Understand the vital role of housing in the facilitation of a more 'just', inter-cultural and integrated city - Make necessary funding provisions for the added provision of migrant housing -Provide and develop an enrolling and qualification process for migrants, including capacity building and programme aware
<b>Migrants</b>	-Apply, qualify and enrol onto the housing waiting list.
<b>Citizens</b>	-Fully comprehend the necessity of such an action -Accept the incorporation and inclusion within the waiting list process

*Table 5.2 - Actors and actions regarding migrant integration into housing waiting lists*

### 5.3.2 INCORPORATION ONTO THE FORMAL LABOUR MARKET

As previously mentioned, the 2008 xenophobic attacks were fuelled by the sentiment that migrants were 'stealing' South African jobs. Whilst this sentiment is primarily a misconception, it does contain an element of truth. This truth lies in the prevalent informal labour market in South Africa, which is a key enabler of integration for newcomers. Documented within the research is the informal nature of many income streams in the migrant communities in Cape Town. The research denotes an ease of access into informal employment for migrants, as the informal sector does not require bank accounts, formal residential addresses or formal contracts. The informal economy is, therefore, a key enabler of integration in migrant communities around Cape Town. Evident within the research is the leveraging role the informal economy plays, allowing migrants to almost immediately earn an income, pay for rent and start generating social capital.

In 2008 xenophobia arose from Zimbabwean labourers in the construction industry undercutting South African labourers, as they were informally employed below the minimum wage (See Duponchel, 2009; Dodson, 2010). This clear undermining of the formal labour market is perpetuated by high-labour sectors such as agriculture and construction, which become categorically more profitable if labour costs are cheaper. Closer regulation of such sectors is required in order to mitigate exploitation of foreign labourers. Incorporation of foreign labourers into formal labour unions and the formal labour market is a means of mitigating the undermining nature of illegal employment.



Within Cape Town much of the informal labour consists of market trading and roadside sales. Labour within these informal sectors is largely unregulated and requires closer attention from governing authorities. Present within the Cape Town case study is the occurrence of foreign owned business employing South African nationals. This is prevalent in many of Cape Town's markets, for example in the Bellville market. Here, and elsewhere in the city, South African residents from Khayelitsha are employed by Somali traders. Again, there is little regulation of these employment agreements. As a result, 'employees' are exploited.

The City of Cape Town trader permit scheme, rolled out throughout Cape Town, is a means of regulating traders. However, this scheme does little to address the labour relations of traders. Moreover, this scheme has been widely criticised amongst traders, as it limits the traders to selling certain products, thereby rendering them inflexible in terms of market demand. A renewed permit system is, therefore, required to incorporate labour stipulations devised in collaboration with migrant-focussed NGOs.

The informal labour market has enabled newcomers to the city to, in many cases, gain an income. It is extremely beneficial and such a role cannot be undermined by enforced formal labour regulation. Through a cognisant planning process, policy regarding Cape Town's second economy and associated by-laws can be developed.

<b>Actors</b>	<b>Actions</b>
<b>The City of Cape Town Metropolitan Government</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Renew the informal trader permit scheme to include labour stipulations</li> <li>-Regulate and enforce by-laws associated with the second economy</li> </ul>
<b>Migrant-focussed NGOs</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Represent migrants in terms of advocacy issues</li> <li>-Educate migrants as per their rights to formal employment</li> <li>-Development mechanisms of labour integration, such as mechanisms to accredit degrees and tertiary qualifications</li> <li>-Collaborate with the City of Cape Town in renewing the trader-permit scheme.</li> <li>-Continue migrant-focussed language education</li> </ul>
<b>SARS, Local Law Enforcement, Department of Justice</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Regulate the informal labour market, cognisant of its importance within Cape Town.</li> <li>-Develop whistle-blowing mechanisms for reporting labour exploitation</li> </ul>
<b>Migrants</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Seek formal employment</li> <li>-Utilise migrant-focussed NGOs gain accreditation and language education</li> </ul>

*Table 5.3 - Actors and actions regarding migrant integration into the formal labour market*

### 5.3.3 ACCESS TO EDUCATION

Throughout the research it is evident that education and language are the largest barriers to integration. Many of Cape Town's migrant community desire to learn to communicate in English, as English is the language of commerce in South Africa. They also hope to enrol in tertiary education. There is also a clear brain-gain scenario in Cape Town, as many migrants are entering South Africa with skills and tertiary qualifications. Documented within Cape Town is the inability for many migrants to access previous qualifications due to their lack of international accreditation. Inability to communicate in English similarly limits migrants from utilising skills and qualifications within Cape Town. There are a number of English educational institutions primarily focussed upon refugees and asylum seekers in Cape Town, Scalabrini Refugee Centre English School being one of the largest. These institutions are often free of charge or charge a minimal administration fee. Reinforced in the research is the importance of such institutions and their role within migrant communities. These institutions provide many of Cape Town's migrants with English skills needed to further integrate into society. Similarly to the second economy, language skills leverage further levels of integration.

Increased economic opportunity is the primary driving force behind this desire and denotes the leveraging nature of economic opportunity in terms of integration. Many refugees expressed the desire to stay permanently in Cape Town provided they are able to pursue tertiary education and garner competitive jobs. Failing to do so, many expressed the desire to leave and relocate to another metropolis in which they could achieve such goals. National and provincial governments are mandated to provide educational facilities in South Africa to all residents, including migrants.

As education is such a vital part of migrants' integration in Cape Town I argue that neighbourhood plans require cognisance of the need and desire for strategically located adult and adolescent educational facilities. With the spatial guidance of Western Cape Provincial Government, the Department of Home Affairs and Department of Education in conjunction with external parties such as the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) are able to efficiently provide resources and backing for such educational facilities. A multi-lateral planning and development body, incorporating the City of Cape Town, the Western Cape Municipal Government and both aforementioned national departments, could be devised in order to roll out such projects and easily garner support from external funders. This multi-lateral partnership would also act as a funding mechanism for refugees and asylum seekers requiring funding for educational institutions and would pair donors with recipients.



Actors	Actions
<b>The City of Cape Town Metropolitan Government</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Incorporate the need for educational facilities into neighbourhood and district plans</li> <li>- Provide national and provincial governments with information regarding the necessity of educational facilities in different areas of the city</li> </ul>
<b>Migrant-focussed NGOs</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Expand current educational programmes</li> <li>- Mobilise migrants against marginalising educational policy</li> <li>- Advocate for better integration of migrant children into the formal schooling process.</li> </ul>
<b>The Western Cape Provincial Government and the Department of Education</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Provide educational facilities and funding options to members of the migrant community</li> <li>- Re-examine the acceptance criteria for schools, making provisions for migrants</li> <li>- Lobby international donors to support the development of educational facilities within Cape Town</li> </ul>

*Table 5.4 - Actors and actions regarding migrants' access to education*

## 5.4 CONCLUSION

Cape Town is increasingly becoming a destination space for migrants, particularly from Sub-Saharan Africa. Research findings show that migrants are dispersed throughout the Cape Town metropolitan region, inhabiting many low- to middle-income neighbourhoods. Nevertheless, research findings also show that there are three neighbourhoods that can be described as port-of-entry neighbourhoods. Bellville, Parow and Maitland portray ports-of-entry characteristics such as popularity, density, heterogeneity, relative anonymity, some degree of 'normlessness' and informality (Winkler, 2012; Abu-Lughod, 1994). These three neighbourhoods then become key to promoting a more just, inter-cultural and integrated city, as it is here that we find an emerging spatial pattern of migrant activities along the city's main transportation routes.

Research findings also showed a lack of governmental cognisance of the diverse, fluid, often-informal and sometimes-anonymous nature of migrants' livelihood strategies. This lack of cognisance has resulted in spatial policies that ignore the realities of diversity and interculturalism (Sandercock, 2003). Nevertheless, some policies aim to address spatial marginalisation and segregation. Furthermore, research findings suggest that public transportation networks, strategically located affordable housing developments, and incentivising employment throughout the city, are all strategies that may enable a more just, inter-cultural and integrated city. The neighbourhoods of Bellville, Parow and Maitland are located along the Voortrekker Road Corridor, an Urban Development Zone that the City is attempting to densify via redevelopment incentives.

In this chapter I also suggest a number of policy changes that seek to promote an alternative approach to planning. Such an approach is premised on 'just city' and inter-cultural planning principles. Accordingly, a role for migrant-focussed NGOs is identified to represent and advocate on behalf of migrants, and to facilitate cross-cultural activities (Sandercock, 2003). Furthermore, 'just city' principles are based upon redistributive justice to remedy both social and economic exclusion (Fainstein, 2010). Fainstein (2010), in conceptualising the Just City, recognises the authority of the state and of capital in determining who gets what, yet, she simultaneously recognizes the necessity of public engagement and the development of residents' political capacities as part of the planning process. Here, again, a role for migrant-focussed NGOs is identified to ensure that migrants' diverse needs are represented during public engagements.

Furthermore, informality in Cape Town cannot be fully comprehended through neo-liberal rationales. The City of Cape Town recognises this, and, unlike Roy (2005), seeks to achieve new mechanisms that fulfil the roles of informality. Cape Town's port-of-entry neighbourhoods are located along the Voortrekker Corridor. I argue that such strategic neighbourhoods cannot be given to loose enforcements of by-laws, as these will cause degeneration. Instead, I recommend the implementation of affordable housing, mixed-use developments, and an enhancement of economic opportunity along the Voortrekker Corridor. To this end, I recommend a 5-year moratorium on zoning while housing infrastructure is extended, thus ensuring that a 'state of exception' is recognised along the Voortrekker Corridor where many migrant activities take place. Through appropriate governmental mechanisms that incorporate principles of equity, diversity, democracy and integration a more 'just', inter-cultural and integrated city can be imagined.



## 5.5 REFLECTIONS

My interest in refugees and asylum seekers fuelled my desire to conduct research regarding the spatial and livelihood strategies of migrants within Cape Town. Conducting primary research and subsequent analysis in a six-month period was not without its challenges. As a vulnerable group, refugees and asylum seekers require sensitivity in research design and methodology. As a teacher at Scalabrini Refugee Centre I was given permission to interview my class members and other scholars at the school. This certainly alleviated many barriers to entry that I could have experienced when working with, and learning from, migrants. A level of rapport and mutual respect was already present at the start of the research, simplifying and accelerating the process.

Particularly interesting, however, is the lack of current quantitative data regarding numbers of foreign migrants within Cape Town. The lack of research depicts a lack of cognisance of the recent migration patterns into the city. Demographic data would have enabled me to map the growing communities in Cape Town and the effect this has on infrastructure and neighbourhood development. When conducting research and obtaining data I found that national government institutions were particularly unhelpful. I find this very short sighted, as researchers aim to enhance knowledge by developing deeper understandings of migrants' everyday livelihood strategies. I can only attribute the DoHA's unhelpfulness to their lack of institutional capacity (a recurrent theme in this dissertation). Conversely, the migrant focused NGO's in Cape Town were very helpful. Scalabrini Refugee Centre, Cape Town Refugee Centre and PASSOP (People against suffering oppression and poverty) were three institutions I found particularly helpful and which are conducting excellent work by aiding migrants throughout the city.

More research is required in the planning field regarding the role of Community Development Corporations (CDCs), and the role they could play within the development of such migrant-rich neighbourhoods in Cape Town. Furthermore, a planning approach requires cognisance of other successful planning approaches within migrant rich and foreign communities.

The development of the MyCiti rapid bus transportation network in Cape Town brings an entirely new dynamic to transportation in Cape Town. As the network is extremely recent there is little in the way of research regarding the demographics of commuters. Based on the qualitative data I gathered, it is clear that migrants are moving to areas that are serviced by the MyCiti lines. There are a number of Congolese and Ghanaians living in the Northern Suburbs such as Parklands and Sunningdale. The expansion of the MyCiti network will bring an entirely new dynamic to the spatial patterns of migrants in the city. This requires further research and analysis.

University of Cape Town



# 6

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*Maitland Station on the Northern Rail line  
(Photo by Guy Chiyanga)*



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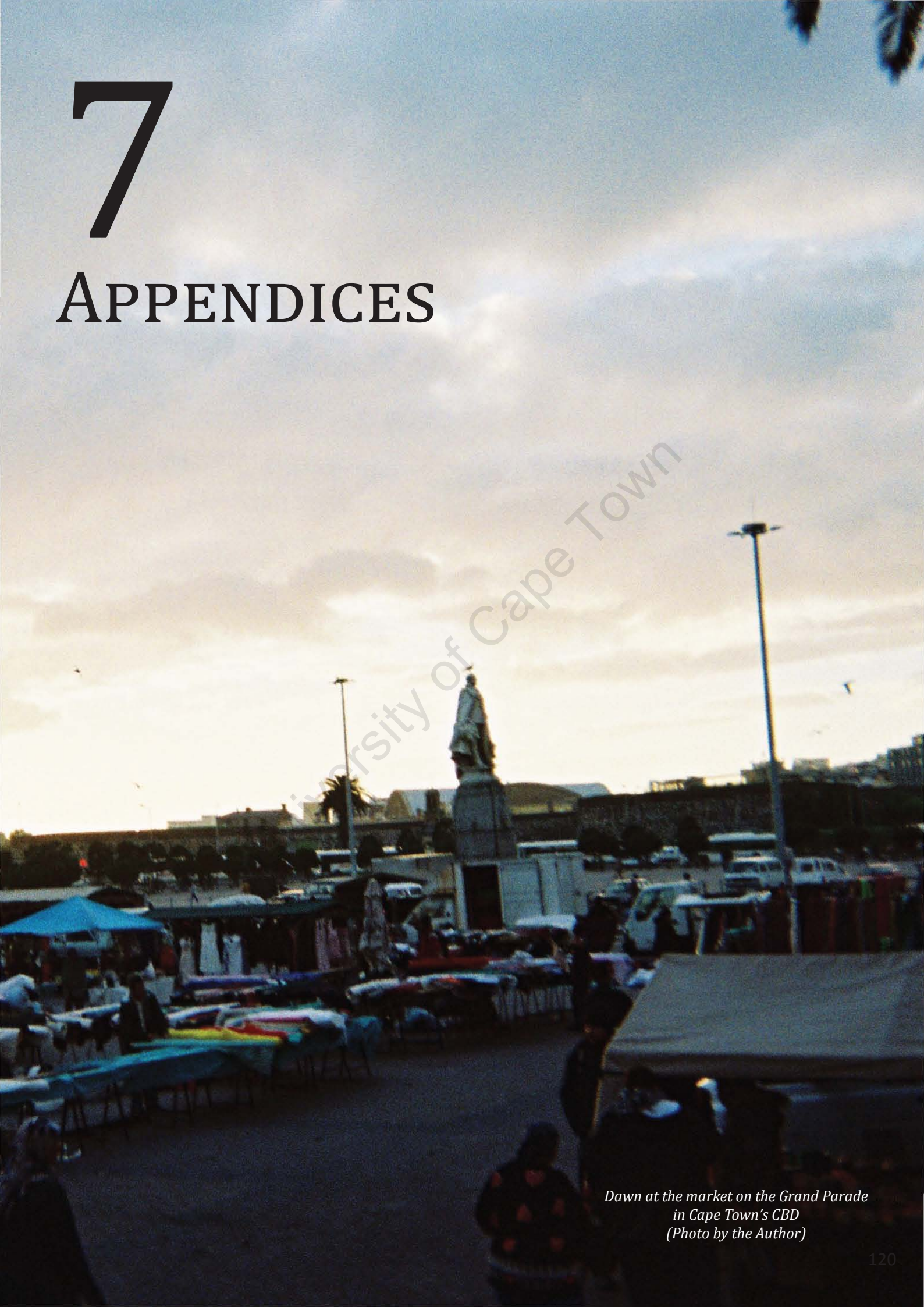
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# 7

## APPENDICES



*Dawn at the market on the Grand Parade  
in Cape Town's CBD  
(Photo by the Author)*



## APPENDIX A





## APPENDIX B

Statistics South Africa

Migration\_Sub\_Place

Table 1

Province of birth by Province of usual residence  
for Person weighted

	Western Cape	Outside South Africa	Unspecified	Total
Western Cape	4023277	1146	13487	4456413
Eastern Cape	888609	993	33337	7961244
Northern Cape	84524	235	4188	1320265
Free State	46775	964	13257	2991605
KwaZulu-Natal	61280	1591	38486	10150704
North West	17521	655	12544	3278652
Gauteng	166124	3431	49870	7617141
Mpumalanga	23237	972	12694	3886815
Limpopo	15303	1082	22084	6420889
Outside South Africa	<b>256053</b>	17356	26337	2199871
Unspecified	76077	17642	7514	731621
Not applicable	0	5280	750060	755340
Total	5658780	51348	983858	51770560

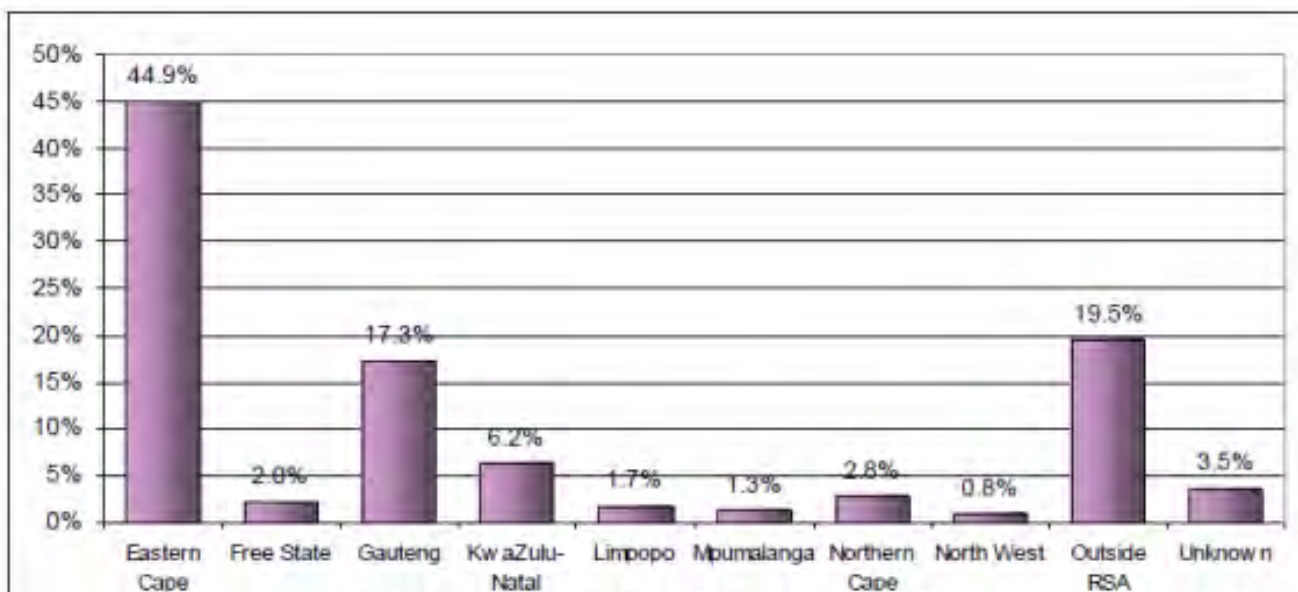
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## APPENDIX C



(Source: Community Survey 2007, STATS SA)



## APPENDIX D

<b>Statistics South Africa</b>			
<b>Labour Force_Sub_Place</b>			
<b>Table 1</b>			
<b>Geography by Individual monthly income</b>			
<b>for Person weighted</b>			
	<b>R1- R6400</b>	<b>R6401 - R51200</b>	<b>R51201 - Infin</b>
	<b>Low Income Total</b>	<b>Middle Income Total</b>	<b>High Income Total</b>
Simon's Town	1073	2044	192
Cape Metro	4310	2194	121
Elsies Rivier	15464	2396	47
Gugulethu	45362	2856	53
Delft	63250	3162	85
Atlantis	27404	3378	85
Noordhoek	10867	3419	436
Matroosfontein	30672	3607	71
Melkbosstrand	1882	3643	694
Philippi	91397	3840	124
Fish Hoek	2313	3841	299
Eerste Rivier	11874	4297	51
Hout Bay	3673	4573	1032
Gordons Bay	3957	4623	249
Belhar	19409	5649	125
Blackheath	17861	5724	146
Muizenberg	10338	7004	550
Blue Downs	30028	8652	125
Grassy Park	28461	8865	215
Strand	17383	9031	414
Khayelitsha	172929	10273	203
Goodwood	12815	12944	461
Kuils River	9815	13186	707
Somerset West	11890	14375	1938
Athlone	85100	15381	476
Kraaifontein	47569	17146	453
Brackenfell	7569	17228	861
Parow	33325	19927	1277
Durbanville	7742	20804	2592
Milnerton	24507	24712	1897
Blouberg	28219	26908	2392
Mitchells Plain	106928	26986	329
Bellville	22992	29947	3101
<b>Created on 08 October 2013</b>			
<b>Statistics South Africa: Web page: <a href="http://www.statssa.gov.za">www.statssa.gov.za</a></b>			
<b>Support: <a href="mailto:info@statssa.gov.za">info@statssa.gov.za</a></b>			
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## APPENDIX E

### SUBSIDIARY RESEARCH QUESTIONS:

- i. Can a reviewed planning perspective towards migrants rectify their marginalisation?
- ii. Is the DoHA able to rectify these negative implications by simply locating migrants in appropriately located housing?
- iii. Is the spatial marginalisation of migrants politically or ethnically motivated like social marginalisation has often been?
- iv. Are there areas of Cape Town that exhibit spatial manifestations of transnational mobility? If so where are these areas?
- v. Do migrants within Cape Town view it as a destination space or a temporary 'launching pad' to other destinations around the globe?
- vi. Are there areas of Cape Town that lend themselves to informal small-scale transnational trade?
- vii. Are the areas recognised by the City of Cape Town as lending themselves to the informal areas in which many migrant communities are located?
- viii. What does the approach of distributive justice mean for migrants living within informal neighbourhoods?
- ix. What are the expectations of the collectivity within different ethnic groups in Cape Town? Are professionals members being 'held level' by associating with their collective?
- x. Is there a direct correlation between societal integration and lack of association with collectivities?
- xi. Does social capital manifest spatially within Cape Town's urban fabric?
- xii. Are port-of-entry neighbourhoods empirically associated with 'crime and grime' and the 'squalor' found often within local government rhetoric?
- xiii. Can port-of-entry neighbourhoods exist without this informality?
- xiv. Does cultural diversity complicate planning processes and should the Department of Home Affairs manage the settlement patterns of certain people groups?
- xv. Are port-of-entry neighbourhoods a necessity for integration of urban migrants?
- xvi. How can state led urban planning rid these neighbourhoods of the ills of informality, yet not act as a detriment the inherent nature of such neighbourhoods?
- xvii. How does the language of inter-culturalism manifest within the Cape Town context?
- xviii. According to Fainstein's just city criteria, do the City of Cape Town's planning policies actively promulgate a just city?

## **APPENDIX F**

### **ETHICS APPROVAL AND INTERVIEW CONSENT FORMS**

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